OXFORD

The RETURNING HERO

Nostoi *and Traditions of Mediterranean Settlement*

EDITED BY

SIMON HORNBLOWER
& GIULIA BIFFIS

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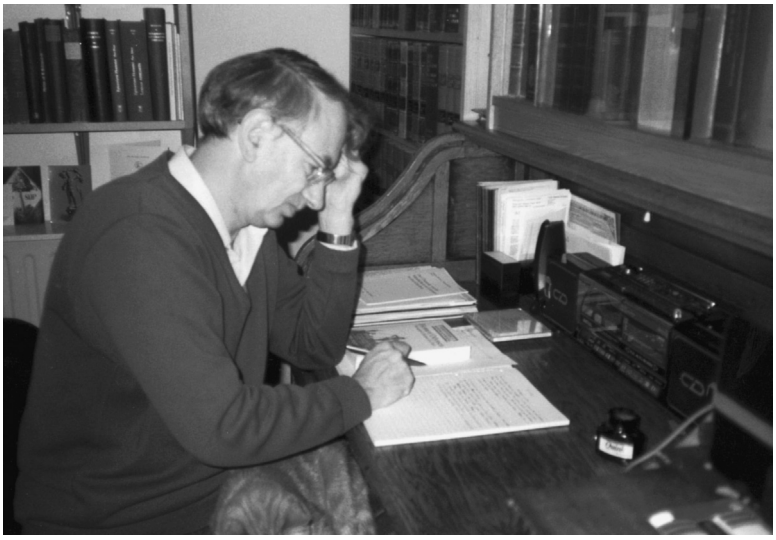
To the Memory of Martin West,
23 September 1937–13 July 2015



Frontispiece The late Martin L. West, OM (and assistant).
By kind permission of Stephanie West.

Preface and Acknowledgements

This book is based on the papers delivered at a well-attended conference called '*Nostoi*: Traditions about Mediterranean Settlement', held in the beautiful Old Library of All Souls College, Oxford, on 6–7 May 2016. The core meaning of the ancient Greek word *nostoi* (*νόστοι*) is 'returns', frequently understood as the successful, partial, or failed returns of mythical Greek heroes from the Trojan War. The Greek word and its cognates are examined in the Introduction, below, section 2, and we explain our spelling policy (why and how we use both *νόστοι* and *nostoi*, and when we capitalize) at p. 1.

We are grateful to the Warden and Fellows of All Souls College for generous funding of the conference, and for hospitality during it. One of the speakers at the conference is not directly represented among the chapters below: Robert Parker, whose Concluding Remarks have been of great value in the writing of the Introduction. But since it aims to act on his suggestions, especially by addressing topics covered insufficiently or not at all during the conference, he and we agreed that he would not contribute further. We also thank all those who attended the conference and contributed to the lively discussions after each paper, and above all we thank the speakers and now chapter-authors for their contributions, and their cheerful cooperation in the editorial process. We are grateful to Cathy Morgan in particular for good advice at the stage of conference planning. Finally, thanks to Georgina Leighton at OUP for help of various sorts, and to Ben Harris for careful and valuable copy-editing.

The book is dedicated to the memory of an inspiring, adventurous, and at that same time scrupulously exact scholar: Martin West, OM, FBA, who had, about a month before his sudden death in July 2015, agreed to deliver a paper at the *Nostoi* conference to be held in his own college.

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List of Abbreviations

Note: ancient authors are generally cited according to *OCD*[4] pp. xxvi–liii; some exceptions are listed below.

A.	Aeschylus
Alle origini della Magna Grecia	*Alle origini della Magna Grecia*: *Mobilità, migrazioni, fondazioni*, *Atti Taranto* 50, Taranto, 2012
APF	J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 BC,* Oxford, 1971
Apollod.	Apollodoros the mythographer; and see *Ep*.
Ap. Rh.	Apollonios Rhodios
Ar.	Aristotle; [Ar.] *mir. ausc.* = Ps.-Aristotle, *de mirabilibus auscultationibus* (*περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων*)
Austin[2]	M. Austin, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest: A Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation*,[2] Cambridge, 2006
B.	Bacchylides
Barr.	R. Talbert (ed.) *Barrington Atlas of the Classical World*, Princeton, 2000
Beloch	K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*,[2] 4 vols in 8, Strassburg and Berlin, 1912–27. For edn 1 vol. 3. 2 (1904), see below, 00
Bill.	M. Billerbeck, *Stephani Byzantii* Ethnica (Berlin and New York, 2006–)
BNJ	I. Worthington (ed.) *Brill's New Jacoby,* online edition, 2006–
Chantraine	P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, 4 vols, Paris 1968–80
CT	S. Hornblower, *Commentary on Thucydides*, 3 vols, Oxford, 1991–2008
Diod.	Diodorus Siculus
E.	Euripides (note *Andr*. for *Andromache*, *Her*. for *Herakles, and Herakl.* for *Herakleidai*)
EGM 1, 2	R. L. Fowler, *Early Greek mythography* I: *text and introduction*, II: *Commentary*, Oxford, 2000, 2013 (also referred to as Fowler 2013)
FGE	D. L. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams,* Cambridge, 1981

FGrHist	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker,* 15 vols, Leiden, 1953–8 (later vols, by other authors, are not cited)
FRHist	T. Cornell and others, *Fragments of the Roman Historians*
HCP	F. W. Walbank, *Historical Commentary on Polybius*, 3 vols, Oxford, 1957–79
Hdt.	Herodotus
Hes. *Th.*; *WD*	Hesiod, *Theogony; Works and Days*
IACP	M. H. Hansen and T. H. Nielsen (eds) *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis,* Oxford, 2004
IG	*Inscriptiones graecae,* Berlin, 1873–
Il.	Homer, *Iliad*
ILS	H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1892–1916
IvO	W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold, *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, Berlin, 1896
Jos.	Josephus (*BJ* = *Bellum Judaicum*)
Kall.	Kallimachos
LfgrE	*Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos* (1955–2010), Göttingen
LGPN	P. M. Fraser, E. Matthews ,and other editors, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, 5 vols in 8 so far, Oxford, 1987–2018
LIMC	*Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, 1981–97
LSJ[9]	H. Liddell and R. Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon* edn 9, Oxford, 1940, with Supplement, 1996
Lyk.	Lykophron or Lykophron, *Alexandra*
ML	R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC,* Oxford, 1969
mir. ausc.	see Ar.
OCD[4]	S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth, and E. Eidinow (eds) *Oxford Classical Dictionary*[4], Oxford, 2012
Od.	Homer, *Odyssey*
OLD	P. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 1982
O/R	R. Osborne and P. J. Rhodes, *Greek Historical Inscriptions 478–404 BC*, Oxford, 2017
Pi.	Pindar, *I. (Isthmian), O. (Olympian), P. (Pythian), N. (Nemean) Odes*; *Pa. Paians*
PMG	D. L. Page, *Poetae melici graeci*, Oxford, 1962
PMGF	M. Davies, *Poetarum melicorum graecorum fragmenta* vol. 1, Oxford, 1991

Pol.	Polybius
P. Oxy.	Oxyrhynchos papyri
RC	C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period,* Yale, 1934
R.-E.	A. Pauly and G. Wissowa (eds), *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* 83 vols, Stuttgart, 1894–1980
R/O	P. J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 BC*, Oxford, 2003
Radt	S. Radt, *Strabons Geographika, mit Übersetzung und Kommentar,* 10 vols, Göttingen, 2002–12
S.	Sophocles
Σ	scholion or scholia
Stes.	Stesichoros
Steph. Byz.	Stephanus Byzantinus
Suppl. Hell.	H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons, *Supplementum hellenisticum*, Berlin and New York, 1983
Syll.^{3}	W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 4 vols, Leipzig, 1915–24
Th.	Thucydides
ThesCRA	*Thesaurus cultus et rituum antiquorum*, Los Angeles, 8 vols, 2004–12
Tod	M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 2 vols, Oxford, 1933 and 1948 (numbering of inscriptions is continuous)
TrGF	S. Radt and R. Kannicht, *Tragicorum graecorum fragmenta*, 5 vols in 6, Göttingen, 1981–2004
V. *A.*; *E.*; *G.*	Virgil, *Aeneid*; *Eclogues*; *Georgics*
Walbank	see above, *HCP*
Xen.	Xenophon

List of Contributors

Giulia Biffis is Research Associate in Classics at the University of Reading and Associate Lecturer in Greek at Birkbeck College, London. Her first monograph, on Cassandra and the female perspective in Lycophron's *Alexandra*, is forthcoming.

Robert L. Fowler taught at Waterloo, Ontario and Bristol before his retirement in 2017. He is editor of the *Cambridge Companion to Homer* (2004) and author of *Early Greek Mythography* (2000–13).

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Simon Hornblower held teaching and research posts at Oxford and UCL before retirement in 2016. He has published *Lykophron* Alexandra: *Greek Text, Translation, Commentary and Introduction* (2015), and *Lykophron's* Alexandra*, Rome and the Hellenistic World* (2018).

Robin Lane Fox taught ancient history at New College and Exeter College, Oxford from 1977 to 2014 and classical languages and literature at New College in 2016/7. His books range from *Alexander the Great* (1973) to *Augustine: Confessions and Conversions* (2015) and he is currently working on early Hippocratic medicine.

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Tanja S. Scheer is Professor of Ancient History at the Georg August Universität Göttingen. Her books include *Mythische Vorväter. Zur Bedeutung griechischer Heroenmythen im Selbstverständnis kleinasiatischer Städte* (1993) and *Griechische Geschlechtergeschichte* (2011). Her special interest is cultural history, especially Greek mythology and Greek religion in its social context.

Stephanie West is an Honorary Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford. Homer, and particularly the *Odyssey,* has always been her principal research interest; she published *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer* (1967), and a commentary on *Odyssey* books 1–4 (first commissioned by the Fondazione Lorenzo Valla 1981) was taken over by OUP and appeared in 1988. She has published articles on a wide range of other Greek authors, particularly Herodotus and Lykophron, and is currently working on a commentary on Herodotus book 4.

Map 0.1 The Mediterranean world of the *nostoi*.

Reproduced from Hornblower 2015 by permission of OUP.

Land elevation in metres
over 1850
1000 to 1850
0 to 1000
0 100 200 miles
0 100 200 300 km
WHITE ISLAND
Black Sea
KOLCHIS
Ainos
SAMOTHRACE
Kyzikos
Ophryneion
Troy
Alexandreia Troas
TENEDOS
MYSIA
Pergamon
Lesbos
LYDIA
KILIKIA
Mallos
Kolophon
Miletos
Stratonikeia
DELOS
LEPSIA
Halikarnassos
Myndos
Knidos
KASIOS
Orontes
Apameia
Lindos
RHODES
CYPRUS
Byblos
Sarapta
KRETE
Alexandria

1

Introduction

Simon Hornblower

PROLOGUE

This book is about ancient Greek returns and returning, chiefly—but by no means only—of mythical Greek heroes from Troy.[1] One main, and certainly the most 'marked', ancient Greek word for 'return' is νόστος, plural νόστοι: in transliteration *nostos*, *nostoi*, as in the English derivative 'nostalgia'.[2] In the chapters that follow, the keyword and its cognates will, in the text at least, be given in transliterated form: *nostos*, *nostoi*, and so on, except at the start of sentences, and where the reference is to poetic and prose works actually called *Nostoi*, which will be capitalized. In general we have, in the interests of accessibility to non-specialist readers, kept the text as far as possible free of ancient Greek, which is confined to footnotes.[3] All Greek is translated.

[1] This Introduction seeks in part to act on helpful suggestions made by the publisher's referees on both the book proposal and the completed submission, and especially by Robert Parker in his acute concluding remarks at the conference on which the book is based. We were and are much indebted to him for these. In particular, the Introduction attempts to fill gaps in conference and book proposal noted by the above friendly critics; hence the coverage of the Argonauts; of Xenophon's Ten Thousand; of *nostos* in the historians generally; and of exile and return from it. Apart from the opening brief sketch of the book's contents, the Introduction does not summarize the chapters in a full and serial way, all in one place, but instead it exploits them in different ways and at different points.

[2] See below p. 32 for 'nostalgia'. For *nostoi* in Greek literature and history see pp. 7–37 below, and for prose *Nostoi* in particular, pp. 34–7.

[3] This has been done in deference to a suggestion by one of the book's referees after the submission of the completed typescript.

The chapters in this book are all thematic, but they are arranged in a roughly chronological sequence.[4] They draw on literary and material evidence, and many of them press the evidence of myth, and draw on modern theoretical work to do so. Robert Fowler's theme is early Greek ethnicity and ethnogenesis, and the implications of the relation, or rather the impressive dovetailing, between *nostoi* traditions and myths of Greek origins. Stephanie West shows that hints in Homer's *Odyssey*, and in its textual reception at Alexandria, betray knowledge of an alternative *nostos* of Odysseus, in which Krete was prominent. Irad Malkin explores the 'right of return' accorded to Greeks who went overseas in the great colonizing period; the evidence for this is largely epigraphic. Guglielmo Genovese examines the myths of the south Italian *nostoi* of Epeios and Philoktetes, and argues that they are good evidence for early and friendly interaction between indigenous peoples and Greek arrivals. Tanja Scheer asks and answers the question, 'why (with a handful of significant exceptions) do women in Greek myths not have *nostoi*?' Part of her explanation is that mythical constructions of male and female characters must not contradict fundamental expectations about the behaviour of the sexes in 'real' society. Giulia Biffis shows that *nostoi* myths as narrated in tragedy, especially the two surviving *Iphigeneia* plays of Euripides, contribute to the shaping the relationship of self to society; in particular, she examines the link between female self-sacrifice and the notion of return. N. J. Lowe applies modern theoretical and 'emotionological' work, especially the concept of place attachment (the emotional bonds between people and places, as already poignantly articulated in the *Odyssey*), to *nostoi* as they feature in Greek drama; and he unexpectedly takes in New Comedy as well as Attic tragedy. Robin Lane Fox's focus is the Hellenistic period, and the way in which Macedonians relocated or 'returned' mythical heroes (Perseus, Herakles, Jason, and Medea) to the new lands they themselves had conquered. Catherine Morgan, who draws on a combination of material and epigraphic evidence, presents and analyses four case studies which indicate that *nostoi* were exploited by communities so as to define themselves in relation to their neighbours, thus shaping communal as opposed to personal identity.

[4] Note 'roughly': for example, Catherine Morgan's chapter ranges widely in time from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods, but has been treated it as mainly Hellenistic.

Naoise Mac Sweeney takes a single well-documented example of a failed *nostos*, that of the famous Homeric seer Kalchas who ended up buried at Ionian Kolophon, and explains its Hellenistic manifestation in terms of Roman encroachment on the Greek East. Nicholas Purcell, who takes the discussion into the Roman and Christian periods, queries the usual idea that home and homecoming were always viewed positively.

This Introduction draws on the insights of all these chapters to offer what aspires to be a rounded thematic account of ancient, especially Greek, attitudes to return, *nostos*. In particular, it traces the Greek word *nostos* and its cognates, and addresses topics and episodes not covered in the 2016 conference or by the individual chapters of the book: see above n. 1. It will end by asking, was *nostos* always 'sweet', in its regular Homeric epithet?

Karl Julius Beloch, who died in 1929, splendidly began the second edition of his eight-volume Greek history with the following sentence: 'naïve history-writing sees only heroes. It does not trouble itself with the masses who stand behind them.' 'Die naïve Geschichtsbetrachtung sieht nur die Helden. Die Massen, die hinter ihnen stehen, kümmern sie nicht.'[5] He continued: 'so in Homer the Greeks are defeated, because Achilles stands aloof from the fighting; when he takes part again, he drives the Trojans before him like sheep, and Troy's fate is sealed by Hektor's death: *οἷος γὰρ ἐρύετο Ἴλιον Ἕκτωρ* (for Hektor was sole protector of Troy).'[6] Beloch, who knew most of Homer and Thucydides by heart, surely did not need to check the Greek of those words. His flagging up of the resonant name Troy is an additional reason why his whole opening paragraph is a good preparation for the theme of this book. We will see that *nostos* came to be specially used about the returns or failed returns of Greek heroes from the Trojan War. By an extension justified by Lane Fox, it is sometimes used nowadays (and perhaps in antiquity also)[7] about Trojans seeking new homes after their city had been sacked. They were not usually *returning* anywhere. *nostos* was normally a state to be desired, although Purcell's chapter argues that 'home' might have negative connotations, as opposed to the positive notion of wandering. On this ambiguity, see further below section 5, *Conclusion*.

[5] Beloch 1914–28: 1. 1. [6] *Il.* 6.403. [7] See below, pp. 36–7 and 193.

You do not have to be a Marxist (and Beloch was not, see Momigliano 1994: 103) to agree that Greeks tended to personalize what might seem to us to be largely impersonal processes such as colonization and overseas settlement and migration generally. But actually, they were not so wrong in one way: the cult of the oikist or city-founder—cult, in the full technical religious sense of heroization[8]—expresses an understandable feeling that superhuman qualities were needed to get a new community off the ground in face of often hostile pre-existing occupants of the land. And this ancient tendency affects one aspect of colonial traditions in particular, namely *nostoi* by heroes. Our hope in this book, as in the conference from which it originates, is that by bringing together specialists in history, literature, myth, and archaeology, we will reach a better understanding both of the importance to ancient Greeks of the notion of individual 'return', and also of the social variables which determined the character of collective Greek settlement of the Mediterranean zone.

Trojan War *nostoi* are by their nature an extreme case of a personalizing or individualizing tradition. This is true in the main of the surviving literary text which above all others provides us with a kind of map of *nostoi* traditions, Lykophron's *Alexandra*. The word 'surviving' is important there, because the much earlier *Nostoi* poems of the Epic Cycle and of Stesichoros of Himera survive only in fragments; see further below.

So far, we have mentioned only literary traditions, but that is lopsided and misleading as an account of what we hope to do in this volume. Migration paths and patterns need to be studied with other tools as well, notably the sophisticated use of material evidence and of network theory, about which Irad Malkin has written so effectively.[9] In this area at least, Beloch was surely right. He spoke of the 'masses' who stood behind the heroes, but we need first to ask, is 'masses' the right word? One problem facing the historian of early Greece is to assess the size and scale of early migration. It is particularly hard to estimate secondary waves of emigration, because the literary sources naturally concentrate on the heroic and pioneering phases. Common sense suggests some approaches. If vigorous emigrants were too many, that might put the viability of the sending city or *mētropolis* at risk (sometimes wholesale evacuation of a community was imposed by

[8] See esp. Hdt. 6.38.1 (about the elder Miltiades).

[9] See esp. Malkin 2011.

foreign threats, as in the westward migration of the Phokaians in the sixth century BCE as Achaemenid Persia loomed). If numbers were too small, the settlers risked being overwhelmed, and failed but unrecorded colonies must have been many. Even very large colonial ventures might fail, such as the 10,000 Athenians overwhelmed at Drabeskos in the 460s. Irad Malkin shows (below, p. 94) that the possibility that a colony might fail could be recognised formallly in decrees, or at least can be inferred from foundation narratives.

It is understandable that unsuccessful colonies should have left less evidential trace than successful ones: nobody had an interest in celebrating failure by patriotic history or song. In any case, if a colony was completely overwhelmed, there would be no settlers left to tell the tale. On the other hand, a colony or cleruchy[10] which found itself in difficulties might ask the *mētropolis* for reinforcements.[11] Some inscribed foundation decrees show that there was another solution for unhappy colonists, namely to avail themselves of the right of return. This concept was, as Irad Malkin puts it in his chapter, 'bidirectional'. That is, it allowed a colonist to return to the *mētropolis* after a stated period, but it also—by a kind of extension of the notion of 'return'—allowed a citizen of the *mētropolis* to join an established colony.

Inscriptions and the material record generally can illuminate attitudes to *nostos* in less explicit and categorical ways than this. Catherine Morgan's chapter, which concentrates on the Ionian and Adriatic Seas at the heart of the Mediterranean, discusses how objects and assemblages can invoke *nostoi* as part of a pattern of thought and behaviour. For the cult of Diomedes on the Adriatic island Palagruza see *SEG* 48.693 and below (p. 234). A monument dedicated by Illyrian Apollonians, and found at Olympia, depicts a series of pairs of Greek and Trojan heroes (Odysseus and Kassandra's brother Helenos, Menelaos and Paris, Diomedes and Aineias, and so on). Apollonia was a Greek city and Apollo was the Greek god of colonization, but the

[10] A special sort of Athenian colony, often military in purpose, in which settlers did not lose their original citizenship.

[11] The Athenians sent a cleruchy to Potidaia in 429 BCE (ML no. 66); additional cleruchs were sent in 361, evidently at the request of the pro-Athenian element (Tod no. 146). In between, the place had been Spartan-controlled for a time. The Athenian cleruchy sent to Samos in the mid 360s (Diod. 18.18.9) was reinforced in 352/1 (*FGrHist* 328 Philochoros F 154), but we are not told why. Perhaps the Social War of the mid 350s placed the Samians under pressure from the Karian satraps; or perhaps there were too many Athenian mouths to feed.

city's legendary founder Apollo had favoured the Trojans in the war for Troy. The *nostoi* traditions are here used to hedge bets, by means of the simultaneous assertion of both Trojan and Greek connexions. In something like the same way, a strange Hellenistic inscription at Dodona by a Greek called Agathon claimed kinship with Trojan Kassandra, perhaps—as brilliantly suggested by the late P. M. Fraser—by descent from one of Kassandra's brothers, a son of Priam called Agathon, who is mentioned just once in the *Iliad*.[12]

NOSTOS AND ITS COGNATES

The word *nostos*[13] is usually thought to be related to *νέομαι* (*neomai)*, which simply means 'I go', 'I come', often 'I return'; and although 'return' (as noun), 'homecoming', especially the safe return of Greek heroes from Troy by sea, became the normal or default sense of *nostos*,[14] it does not invariably mean that. Occasionally it can mean 'arrival' or even 'journey',[15] as (perhaps) when Pindar speaks of Herakles reaching the end, *telos*, of his *nostos*.[16] The rare adjective *eunostos* means good return, and was the name of a harbour at Alexandria; it can also mean good harvest.[17] The more usual and neutral adjective *nostimos* is used by Homer; and by an Aeschylean chorus inquiring about the return from Troy of Menelaos, 'if he is on

[12] Fraser 2003 (*SEG* 53.570); *Il.* 24.249; Fragoulaki 2013: 256, 276.

[13] In this section, the use of some Greek in the text is unavoidable. The Greekless reader may wish to jump to p. 7, 'the return' theme.

[14] Default sense: Bonifazi 2009: 489, 492, 501, 505.

[15] LSJ[9] *νόστος* I (2), citing *Od.* 5.344, S. *Ph.*43 (but the idea of 'return' may be present here, see Schein 2013: 126), and E. *IA* 966 and 1261. Bonifazi 2009: 498 n. 50 adds E. *Hel.* 474.

[16] Pi. *N.* 3. 25, with von der Mühll 1968: 229–30, *νόστος nicht einfach = 'Heimfahrt'*. But at *Od.* 22.323, the parent expression *νόστοιο τέλος γλυκεροῖο* surely means 'the end of my sweet return'. Von der Mühll's other suggested example of a non-return sense for *nostos*, *P.* 3.35, is less cogent. On the etymology and different nuances of *nostos* see further Bonifazi 2009, an excellent study, but not straying much beyond Homer. Slater 1969: 354 gave 'homecoming' as the only meaning in Pindar, but added, in an obviously last-minute addition, a ref. to von der Mühll at the head of the entry.

[17] Strabo 17.1.10. On the problem of the heroic name Eunostos, which ought to mean 'fair return', and is said by ancient lexicographers to denote a spirit of the mill, see Parker 2017: 5 n. 14. (Cf. LSJ *νόστος* (II) for the meaning 'grain yield'). For Eunostos as a personal name, see below p. 42.

his way home and back safe';[18] for the link between *nost-* words and 'safe' or 'safety' (*σω-*) words, cf. below pp. 20–1 on Xenophon's *Anabasis*. An alternative derivation maintains that *nostos* ultimately derives from a lost root **νέσομαι* (*nesomai*), 'save oneself';[19] if so, Aeschylus' line might be called a virtual pleonasm. But words do often travel away from their origins. It has also been shrewdly noticed that, in Homer at least, *nost-* words are regularly found in oppositional pairing with *ap*(*ollumai*), 'I perish';[20] this is very relevant to the Herodotean usage to be discussed below (p. 17), whereby the verb (*apo*)*nostō* is applied to armies which never return, i.e. are slaughtered or just disappear mysteriously.

Homer and his imitators often use *nostimos* as part of the formulaic 'day of return', *nostimon ēmar*.[21] In both ancient (Kallimachos, n. 22) and modern Greek, *nostimos* can also describe food, and means tasty. LSJ gives 'yield or produce of grain when ground' as an entirely separate sense (II) of the noun *nostos*. But perhaps there is a connection: the seed is planted but then *returns* to the light.[22] So, too, we speak of agricultural returns. For Nostimos as a personal name, see below, p. 42.

THE 'RETURN' THEME IN GREEK LITERATURE AND HISTORY, ARCHAIC TO HELLENISTIC

If there was an epic poem even older than Homer, narrating the Return of the Argonauts from Kolchis, it has not survived; the *Odyssey* casually refers to the 'Argo known to all',[23] but this might

[18] A. *Ag.* 718, *εἰ νόστιμός τε καὶ σεσωσμένος πάλιν*.

[19] Chantraine 1968: 744–5; Bonifazi 2009: 492.

[20] Bonifazi 2009: 493.

[21] E.g. *Od.* 1.9, *ἀφείλετο νόστιμον ἦμαρ*, 'he (Hyperion the Sun-god) took away their day of return.'

[22] Robert Parker in his concluding remarks at the Nostoi conference in May 2016 discussed but rejected this explanation, while noting the agriculturally symbolic return of Persephone. Hopkinson 1984: 184, discussing Kall. *H.* 6.135, *φέρε δ' ἀγρόθι νόστιμα πάντα*, concludes that *νόστιμα* there does not convey the notion of literal return, but simply means 'abundant', 'productive'; but he goes on to cite Theophrastos (*CP* 4.13.2–3) for crops with a high 'return'; thence 'nourishing', 'tasty'. So he allows the connection with returning, albeit of a non-literal sort. But he does not comment on the appropriateness of the ambiguity, in a poem about Persephone's mother Demeter. On the Kallimachos passage see further Purcell, this volume, p. 272.

[23] *Od.* 12. 70, *Ἀργὼ πᾶσι μέλουσα*. See below, p. 81 n. 49.

refer to something less than a full-scale poetic narrative, perhaps—as Stephanie West suggests, below p. 81—an informally circulating body of Argonautic poetry from which Homer borrowed and adapted details, and which he here courteously acknowledges.

As far as surviving evidence goes, the traditions about *nostoi* had their literary origins in the Homeric epics, in particular those passages of the *Odyssey* in direct speech which supplied details about the fate of homecoming Greeks after the fall of Troy—Odysseus himself, of course, and many others as well.[24] But Robert Fowler's chapter shows that, as a matter of history, the *nostoi* myths developed as part of a vast process of change, no less than the ethnogenesis of the Hellenes, in particular the arrival of the Aiolian and Dorian peoples. There is very little overlap between the cast, to use a theatrical metaphor, of the *nostoi* myths, and the cast which was composed of the newcomers such as the Herakleidai. There was in fact, an almost total clear-out. The *nostoi* were logically antecedent to the invasions, but the traditions about them were developed after the fact of the 'radical reconfiguration of the Greek world in the Geometric period' (p. 58).

Homer

'Place attachment' begins with Homer's *Odyssey*, as N. J. Lowe brings out in this volume (p. 181), by analysing the famous passage of book 9 where the hero evokes Ithaka to his Phaiakian hosts. But in the *Odyssey*, the most vigorous and memorable lines about Odysseus' return may not contain a *nost-* word at all. When at long last Odysseus reveals his identity to the hateful suitors, he does so, not by divulging his name as he had done to the friendly Phaiakians, but with the following emphatically pleonastic words: 'Dogs! You must have thought I would never

[24] The word *nostos* occurs as early as *Od.* 1.5, where Odysseus tried to preserve his own life and secure the *return* of his companions; see also 1.9 for the 'day of return' (above). Speeches narrating Greek *nostoi*: esp. 3.130–200 and 254–312 (Nestor); 4.333–592 (Menelaos). At Ithaka the bard Phemios sang of the 'painful return, *noston . . . lugron*, of the Achaians (the Greeks)', 1.326–7, but we are not told details, except for the apparently authorial addition that it was imposed by Athena (cf. below, p. 29). Similarly, Aiolos wanted to know about the return of the Achaians (10.15, cf. West, below p. 65). On the name Nestor as derived from the same root as *nostos* see, in this volume, Fowler p. 53, West, p. 65, and Malkin, p. 85.

In this book, the *Odyssey* is a constant point of reference. In the *Iliad*, by contrast, the great *nostos*-hero *Odysseus* actually prevents a premature general Greek *nostos* (2.155,206).

come back home again (*hikesthai*) returning (*hupotropos*) from the land of Troy!'[25] After some more in this furious vein, he proceeds to slaughter the rest of them, having already shot the ringleader Antinoos through the throat. The almost exclusively Homeric adjective *hupotropos* would be picked up by Apollonios, as we shall see (later; below, p. 26 for an interesting and complex–because double–Homeric allusion. The reason why Homer uses it in book 22 may be because it contributes to the rapid and angry dactylic rhythm of the whole line.[26]

Odysseus' return is so famous, and the Ithaka narrative is managed so expertly, that it is easy to overlook the signs that there had once been an alternative *nostos* for Odysseus, one which entailed Krete. Stephanie West's chapter examines the evidence for this.[27]

On Odysseus' home island of Ithaka, the Hellenistic Ithakesians made the most of their connection with the great man; their island had, after all, little else to give, to adapt and re-apply a famous line of Kavafy's poem *Ithaki*. Catherine Morgan adduces and discusses the epigraphic evidence for the Ithakesian festival of the *Odysseia*, which was one of many such new festivals founded or renewed in the late third or early second centuries BCE.[28] By means such as this, the people of Ithaka exploited the most famous *nostos* of all, so as to assert and reinforce their identity against their neighbours.

The Epic Cycle

The Trojan *nostoi* were the subject of a section of the post-Homeric Epic Cycle called the *Nostoi*.[29] The author is said to have been Agias of Troizen, about whom very little is known; but an anonymous

[25] *Od.* 22.35–6, *ὦ κύνες, οὔ μ' ἔτ' ἐφάσκεθ' ὑπότροπον οἴκαδ' ἵκέσθαι/ δήμου ἄπο Τρώων*, contrast the explicit 9.19–20, 'I am Odysseus . . . my fame has reached the sky.' But note that at the end of 22.35, M. West (Teubner ed., 2017) adopts the *nost*-word *νεῖσθαι*.

[26] With which compare the angry dactyls of Browning's *Lost Leader*, an attack on Wordsworth for accepting the Poet Laureateship: 'Just for a handful of silver he left us, / just for a riband to stick in his coat . . .'

[27] See also S. West 1981 and 2003; M. L. West 2013: 248–9.

[28] Chaniotis 1995. See also, for the remarkable spread of Panhellenic festivals in Hellenistic Greece, Parker 2004 (but the *Odysseia* on Ithaka seems to have been local).

[29] See esp. West 2003a (Loeb ed.) and 2013 (comm.). Welcker 1865–82 is still valuable. The most recent treatment of the epic *Nostoi* is Danek 2015 (with, at 361–5, brief commentaries on the frags.), but this was just too late to take account of the full-length comm. by West 2013: 244–87. See also West 2015. Hardie 2012:142 suggests that V. *A.* 11.257–77 (catalogue of *nostoi*) alludes to the Cycle.

Kolophonian is another possibility. The epic *Nostoi* are sometimes categorized among 'Posthomerica'. But they were not necessarily mere later attempts to supplement and plug gaps in Homer; they were perhaps actually contemporaneous with the *Odyssey*,[30] and took some of their materials from the same pre-existing storehouse of myth.[31] It is frustrating that so little of these poems survives today; modern knowledge derives mainly from summaries by a scholar called Proclus, and from the mythological handbook of Pseudo-Apollodoros. In antiquity the epic *Nostoi* were much liked and used by poets such as Pindar, the Attic tragedians, Hellenistic poets including and especially Lykophron;[32] and by artists of all sorts.[33] Indeed, artworks provide some actual fragments, notably a second-century cup which carries the words 'from the Returns of the Achaians'.[34]

Apart from the wanderings of Odysseus and Menelaos—topics already covered amply by Homer, who is here closely tracked by the *Nostoi*—the murder of Agamemnon and his avenging by Orestes evidently took up a good deal of space; but other *nostoi* or attempted *nostoi* featured as well (Kalchas; Lokrian Aias; Neoptolemos). The intriguing references to a section about Hades[35] are surely to the place rather than the god. A visit to the underworld by Odysseus, comparable to but different from the Homeric *nekuia* (*Odyssey* 11), would explain, for example, the fragments about Tantalos, Klymene, and maybe also Medea.[36] (But in other traditions, the last-named ended up married to Achilles in Elysion.)[37] There have, from the nineteenth century, been various more or less ingenious suggestions to explain this non-Homeric descent to the underworld (*katabasis*). Was it a description of the arrival of the souls of Agamemnon and Kassandra in the underworld, like that of the suitors at the end of the Odyssey? Or did Neoptolemos consult the Thesprotian oracle of the dead, like

[30] West 2013: 250: the *Nostoi* 'composed in parallel with the *Odyssey*'.
[31] Rutherford 2013: 18; Danek 2015: 356.
[32] On the Hellenistic reception of the Epic Cycle see Sistakou 2015.
[33] For the fall of Troy in poetry and art see Anderson 1997, esp. 75–91 for the literary treatments of the Trojan *νόστοι*.
[34] F10 West, *ἐκ τῶν[Ν]όστων Ἀχα[ι]ῶν*.
[35] See esp. F1 West, from Pausanias 10. 28. 7: the epic *Nostoi* included a *mnēmē* (surely more than just 'mention') of Hades, 'and of the terrors there', *τῶν ἐκεῖ δειμάτων*.
[36] Danek 2015: 363 says of Medea, 'she may have been found in Hades.'
[37] *PMG* 291 (Ibykos); Lyk. *Alex.* 174–5.

Periandros of Korinth in Herodotus (5.92 η2)? But against this, Neoptolemos may not have gone so far west.[38] The most attractive solution is that of Martin West: Menelaos went to the underworld for news of his brother Agamemnon.[39]

The *nostos* of the Homeric seer Kalchas, who died and was buried by Teiresias at Ionian Kolophon, is a particularly interesting specimen of a failed *nostos*. It featured in the epic *Nostoi*.[40] It was also treated at some length by Lykophron,[41] and in this Hellenistic revival it is the subject of Naoise Mac Sweeney's chapter in this volume; see this Introduction, below p. 33, for the contemporary, second-century BCE aspect to the handling of the Kalchas myth.

But the most sensational failure of a *nostos*—described in both the Odyssey and the epic *Nostoi*—has to be that of Kassandra's sexual attacker Lokrian Aias, dashed to death on the Kapherian rocks near Mykonos. The topic naturally appealed to Lykophron, who makes Kassandra foresee it with suitably elaborated relish.[42]

The epic *Nostoi* are not the only part of the Cycle which offered material relevant to the general theme of *nostoi*. As Catherine Morgan observes in her chapter (p. 215), the *Telegony* or *Thesprotis*[43] narrated Odysseus' adventures in the north-west of Greece, and there was also north-western material in the *Alkmeonis* (part of the Theban Cycle) and the *Korinthiaka* of Eumelos. But the last-named poem was not a contribution to the Trojan War theme, but was rather intended[44] to compensate for the near-absence of Korinth from the *Iliad* (the attribution to Eumelos of a poem called 'Return of the Greeks' is probably a mere error).[45]

[38] West 2013: 278; cf. Danek 2015: 372.

[39] West 2013: 279–82. This, an improvement on his half-heartedly expressed earlier preference (2003a: 18, Agamemnon arriving in Hades), was unknown to Danek 2015.

[40] Arg. 2 (West 2003a: 155). Kalchas was also prominent in the epic *Kypria*: arg. 6–8 (West 2003a: 73–5) for his role at the beginning of the Trojan War.

[41] Lyk. *Alex*. 424–38.

[42] *Od*. 4.499–510; *Nostoi* arg. 3 (West 2003a: 155); Lyk. *Alex*. 387–407.

[43] Frg. 3 of the *Telegony* (=Paus. 8. 12. 5, West 2003a: 169) speaks of a separate poem called the *Thesprotis*, but this seems to have been a subsection of the *Telegony*, perhaps (West 2013: 288, 290, 299) its first book; see arg. 2 at West 2003a: 167.

[44] West 2002.

[45] On this *Νόστος τῶν Ἑλλήνων* see West 2003a: 26, cf. 223 for the attribution, which is by *Σ* on Pi. *O*. 13.31a.

Some *nostoi* are described in Hellenistic writers, but cannot be traced in either Homer or the Epic Cycle, so are presumably late inventions. For example, Philoktetes and Epeios moved to Italy and died there, according to Lykophron (*Alex*. 911–50). Guglielmo Genovese's chapter shows how this pair of stories were a signifier for good relations between indigenous peoples and newly arrived Greek settlers: by dedicating their weapons at future sanctuary sites, Philoktetes and Epeios performed a symbolic action of great social importance: 'when the hero arrives in the new territory he lays down his own arms,'[46] so consecrating the space in question. They thus perform a pacificatory function, which enabled the harmonious creation of mixed communities. It is possible that Stesichoros, who was a native of either Sicily or South Italy, described these events in his poem *Nostoi*, although in that case we might have expected to hear of it from citation by some later author. But in any case we know of the existence of this work only from a mention by Pausanias, and there is only one fragment, whose allocation to the *Nostoi* is uncertain. It concerns Telemachos, and might suggest that accounts of the *nostoi* were—as in the Odyssey—attached to a narrative of his visit to the Spartan court of Menelaos. This is meagre and disappointing. Stesichoros did, however, also treat the returns of some Trojan War heroes in his *Palinode* and his *Oresteia*.[47]

Pindar

Pindar[48] likes the word *nostos*. In the epinikian odes he uses it eleven times, and the associated verbs once each.[49] Twice *nostos* refers to the return of the Argonauts (*P*. 4.32 and 196). But several times it

[46] Strictly, Epeios dedicates (not arms but) the tools with which he constructed the Trojan Horse: 948–50. But that passage makes clear that these objects brought 'dire destruction' on the Trojans. For Philoktetes' dedication of Herakles' bow in the temple of Apollo Alaios at Makalla see [Ar.] *de mir. ausc.* 107, and Genovese, this volume, p. 113. To be sure, not all dedications of weapons have a pacific function (most obviously, they can celebrate victory over a defeated opponent). It depends on the context.

[47] See fragments 169 and 170 Finglass (Paus. 10. 26. 1 and P. Oxy. 2360); Davies and Finglass 2015: 470–81.

[48] Not 'Pindar and Bacchylides' (but see below, p. 121): the latter does not seem much interested in the returns of his winning athletes. The verb *νεῖσθαι* is restored at *Ode* 13.162, about the arrogant expectations of return entertained by the horsemen of Troy.

[49] See Slater 1969, entries under the noun *νόστος* and the verbs *νοστέω* and *ἀπονοστέω*. For the longer form of the verb see *N*. 6. 50, where Memnon did not

denotes the return of the victor in the Panhellenic contests.[50] In this connexion, the *nostos* concept enables him to bridge the conceptual gap between the mythical world and that of the real-life athlete who returns to his *polis*: the failed *nostos* of the mythical hero serves as a foil to the successful *nostos* of the athlete or equestrian victor.[51] One of the most memorable glimpses of the ecstatic reception accorded to such an athlete is in a surprising source, one which does not here use *nostos* or a cognate at all. Thucydides tells us that in 423 BCE, the people of Skione in northern Greece received Brasidas warmly, and in the name of the city they crowned him with a golden crown as the liberator of Greece; in addition, many people showed their personal admiration by putting ribbons round his head, and going up to greet him 'as if he were an athlete'.[52] That is, they treated him like a returning athlete. But they did not make a hole in the city walls to let him in; that is a modern myth about the victor's return.[53]

Pindar does not always apply *nostos* to successful athletes. One of his most striking uses is of the loser, 'for whom no *nostos* as happy as yours was decided at the Pythian festival, nor upon returning to their mothers did sweet laughter arouse joy all around; but staying clear of their enemies, they shrink down alleyways, bitten by failure.'[54]

Tragedy and Comedy

There is a very broad sense in which almost all of the surviving tragedies[55] of the great period can with enough ingenuity be categorized as *nostoi*-tragedies: even Euripides' *Alkestis* 'finds a way to stage

return, *Μέμνονος οὐκ ἀπονοστήσαντος*, a way of saying he was killed. For this Herodotean use (typically about large armies which perished) see below, p. 17. Another such example in Pindar is *N.* 9.22–3, Adrastos' expedition against Thebes: 'on the banks of the Ismenos, his army laid down their sweet homecoming,' *γλυκύν* / *νόστον ἐρεισάμενοι*. For simple *νοστέω* see *N.* 11.26, where it means return of an athlete. At *I.* 8.51, Achilles 'bridged a *νόστος* for the Atreidai'.

[50] *O.* 8.69; *P.* 8.83; *N.* 2.24 and 11.26.

[51] Crotty 1982: 107 (myths of failure serve to illuminate '*ex contrariis*'). His whole chapter 'The return home' (pp. 104–38) is valuable.

[52] Th. 4. 121.1, *ὥσπερ ἀθλητῆι*. [53] Slater 2013.

[54] *P.* 8.83–7 (lit. 'returning to mother', *μολόντων πὰρ ματέρα*), cf. also *O.* 8.69.

[55] Alexopoulou 2009: ch. 3.

and thematise the greatest *nostos* of all, from the place of no return'.[56] The quotation is from N. J. Lowe's chapter in this volume (p. 187). But the qualification 'almost all' is important: Lowe also stresses that the elastication of *nostos* so as to cover all possible plot patterns is significantly incomplete: Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* and Euripides' *Iphigeneia at Aulis* cannot be simplistically accommodated to a *nostos* model. (And we should recall that we have only a fraction of the plays once written and staged in Classical Athens.) Nevertheless Giulia Biffis argues in her chapter that *Iphigeneia in Aulis* does after all shed powerful light on the *nostos* theme. In Euripides, episodes of self-sacrifice are staged in such a way as to zoom in on the relationship between the individual and the group. These are all situations in which self-sacrifice works either to propitiate or to curse the return of a group from war. In *Iphigenia in Aulis*, Euripides fully explores the *topos*. On Iphigeneia's *nostos* see further Scheer, below pp. 142–3 (and 126 for the statue of Artemis, brought back to Greece by Iphigeneia, as a possible example of female *nostos*-related memorabilia).

Tragedy naturally exploited the Trojan returns, but also the Theban cycle of myths. More generally *nostoi* tragedies include those 'escape-plays' in which the hero returns from exile to his homeland. Even Euripides' *Bacchai* is a version of the return-and-revenge plot of the Orestes type. Tragedy's distinctive obsession with return is, so Lowe suggests (with detailed analysis of emotionally charged passages from *Phoenician Women* of Euripides and *Philoktetes* of Sophocles),[57] to be explained by the rich narrative possibilities of place attachment. Biffis, in her chapter, shows how the tragedians are aware of the multiple ways in which narratives of return shaped different aspects of Greek life: the experience of the individual within a context of great mobility such as that of the Greek world; the self-perception of communities and the way these were perceived by others; the relationship between Greeks and not-Greeks. Euripides'

[56] To be sure, there are myths of *katabasis*, descent to Hades, which also feature a return to the upper world, achieved by such superhuman figures as Odysseus, Herakles (in *Alkestis*, and in order to capture Kerberos), and Theseus; Alkestis' own return from the dead is possible only by the agency of Herakles. But the function of these myths is precisely to emphasize by opposition the normally inescapable reality. As Housman put it at the end of his translation of Horace *Odes* 4.7: 'And Theseus leaves Pirithous in the chain / The love of comrades cannot take away.'

[57] The only surviving tragedy with the word *nostos* in its final line; see Lowe, below, p. 191.

Iphigenia in Tauris combines all these paths of *nostos* to create an all-encompassing narrative of return.

Lowe shows that tragedy did not exhaust Greek dramatic preoccupation with *nostos*, broadly conceived. New Comedy exploits variants of the return theme (return of a paterfamilias, of a young master, of a lost child, of an exile); but these are themselves derived from tragedy.

The Prose Historians

Of the Classical Greek historians, the author most famously associated with return is Xenophon, most of whose *Anabasis* or narrative of the 'upward journey' of the Ten Thousand soldiers in 400 BCE is actually a *katabasis*, in the sense[58] of an account of the 'downward journey' back to the sea from Mesopotamia in the heart of the Persian Empire. But his two surviving predecessors, Herodotus and Thucydides, also have much to offer on the subject of returns, and they use words of the *nost-* family, the one frequently, the other with a unique occurrence. Their contemporary Hellanikos of Lesbos, author of a history of Athens and Attika (i.e. he was the first 'Atthidographer') also wrote works of mythography, including accounts of *nostoi*. These provide valuable information on, for example, the settlement of the north-eastern Aegean area (the 'Aiolid', i.e. Lesbos and the Asiatic mainland opposite) by Orestes and his family, and were probably drawn on by Lykophron.[59] (See further below, p. 35).

For Herodotus, the *nost-* root normally carries no special charge; indeed the saddest expression of colonial nostalgia in his *Histories* does not use a *nost-*word at all. He is describing how more than half of the Phokaians who set out for Corsica in the mid sixth century could not in the end bear to leave, despite the solemnity of their oath never to return: 'Out of *pothos*, "yearning", and *oiktos*, "sadness", for their city and the customs of their country, they broke their oaths and sailed back to Phokaia.' We will meet the powerful word *pothos* many times in the following pages, as the right term for colonial regret; and the object of that regret, what Herodotus here calls *ēthea*, is roughly

[58] For another sense of the word (descent to Hades) see above n. 56.

[59] *FGrHist* 4 F 136–57, and in *EGM* 1, for Trojan and *νόστοι* material. For Orestes and the Aiolid, F 32; Fowler *EGM* 597–602; Lyk. *Alex.* 1374–7.

the equivalent of what Hieronymos of Kardia and Lykophron would call *diaita*, 'way of life' (below, p. 32).[60]

On the other hand, Herodotus' only use of the noun *nostos* refers to one of the two main and obvious acts of prolonged return in the *Histories*, Xerxes' hasty and humiliating departure from Greece after the Persian defeat at Salamis (see below for the other). But the passage in question (8.119) is emotionally neutral at the level of detail: 'that is the other story that is told about Xerxes' *nostos* (i.e. the story that he returned by sea not land), but I don't believe it.' The chapter ends: 'as I said before, he returned to Asia by road with the rest of the army.'[61] The compound verb there used is *aponostō*, one of two regular and closely related verbs for 'to return', the other being the simple *nostō*.[62] To be sure, some of these uses are more marked than others. Thus sometimes the pleonastic or strengthened 'return back', *aponostō opisō*, seems to be used to add solemnity;[63] and on one occasion the same compound form of the word actually serves to evoke the epic Trojan *nostoi* (the 'default' use, see p. 6).[64] Positioning can also be important: the chapter including Pheretime's return to Egypt (using the verb *aponostō*) closes book 4 in modern texts and the long North African narrative on any mapping of the Histories.[65] She has taken excessive revenge on the women of Barke, but will suffer divine retribution for this.

We have discussed Xerxes' return. The other fully described return by a Persian army, the fraught and perilous retreat of his father Dareios from Skythia, is also once characterized with a *nost-* verb.[66] A special category of verbal *nost-* uses is important, not least for their

[60] Hdt. 1.165.3: *πόθος τε καὶ οἶκτος τῆς πόλιος καὶ τῶν ἠθέων τῆς χώρης*. The Latin equivalent of *pothos* for fatherland is *desiderium patriae* (see Livy 29.6.7, Lokrian exiles at Rhegion, asking for news of home, para. 6).

[61] *ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν*. Xerxes himself was made to predict his own return much earlier, at 7.50.4, using *νοστέω*. This was an ironical usage, because he there looked forward to the day when 'we will return home after conquering the whole of Europe,' *καταστρεψάμενοι πᾶσαν τὴν Εὐρώπην νοστήσομεν ὀπίσω*.

[62] In Herodotus, the compound *ἀπονοστέω* (the uncontracted dialect form of *ἀπονοστῶ*), is slightly ahead of the simple *νοστέω* (twenty-six occurrences as against nineteen). Herodotus also frequently (fifty-nine times) uses the neutral *ἀπέρχομαι*. For return from exile see below pp. 19 and 39.

[63] A possible example is Gobryes' frightening explanation of the riddle of the birds, the mice, and the frogs at 4.132.3: unless you Persians fly like birds (etc.), *you will not return back home*, *οὐκ ἀπονοστήσετε ὀπίσω*.

[64] 7.171.2, the Kretans' return from Troy, *ἀπονοστήσασι ἐκ Τροίης*.

[65] 4.205: *ἀπενόστησε ἐς Αἴγυπτον*.

[66] See again Gobryes at 4.132.3 (above).

future reception (see below for Thucydides): the pathetic summings-up of military failures with expressions such as 'none of them returned,' or 'few out of many returned.' This is often found as part of a polar and sometimes pathetic type of expression (narratologically a form of presentation by negation) such as 'they/most were killed and did not return home' (cf. above on *Odyssey* 24.528), or conversely 'they all/most of them did not return home but were killed.' A good example is the narrative of the large Egyptian army which came to the help of the indigenous Libyans against the Greeks of Kyrene: 'it was destroyed so completely that few of them returned to Egypt.'[67] There are other similar passages.[68] But these arguably more marked usages are far outnumbered by occasions when a *nost-* verb, whether in simple or compound form, means merely to come back from somewhere else, like the return to Korinth of the messenger sent by Periandros to Thrasyboulos of Miletos.[69]

It is different with Thucydides, who uses the noun *nostos* and the simple verb *nostō* never (not even for Brasidas, see above), and the compound verb *aponostō* only once, in a sentence which carries a heavy and solemn weight of closural emphasis. He ends book 7 and the virtually self-contained[70] narrative of the Athenian disaster in Sicily thus: 'few out of many returned home. That is what happened in Sicily.'[71] There is at least[72] a triple intertext here, first with Herodotus on the Egyptian army which went to Kyrene (above), and second with Thucydides' own summing-up of the Athenian disaster in Egypt in the 450s: 'few out of many were saved, travelling through Libya to Kyrene, but most perished.'[73] The choice of verb here, *sōzomai*, from the 'safe/save' root *sō-*, is interesting: we will see that in Xenophon's *Anabasis*, it can operate as a virtual equivalent to 'to return'. The same verb is used in the third intertext, Thucydides on the Ambrakiot disaster: 'few out of many were saved and got back to

[67] 4.159.5: *διεφθάρησαν οὕτω ὥστε ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ἀπενόστησαν ἐς Αἴγυπτον.*

[68] 3.26.2, the army sent by Kambyses against the Ammonians neither reached them nor returned back home, *οὔτε ὀπίσω ἐνόστησαν*, and 6.92.3, most of the Argive special force did not return back home, *οὐκ ἀπενόστησαν ὀπίσω*, but were killed by the Athenians on Aigina.

[69] 5.92 ζ3: *νοστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον*, cf. 4.76.3, Skyles.

[70] Only 'virtually': *μέν* will be picked up by *δέ*, the second word of book 8.

[71] 7.87.6: *ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἀπενόστησαν. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ Σικελίαν γενόμενα.*

[72] Not forgetting lost prose or poetic texts.

[73] 1.110.1: *καὶ ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν πορευόμενοι διὰ τῆς Λιβύης ἐς Κυρήνην ἐσώθησαν, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἀπώλοντο.*

their city.'[74] But although *sōzomai* evidently has an evocative power of its own, it does seem likely that Thucydides saved up the *nost-* word for the greatest failure of return in his entire work.

Excessive concentration on the force of that unique *nost-* word can, then, lead to neglect of the wider range of terminology drawn on by Thucydides, and this naturally goes much wider than words for 'being saved'.[75] Just one chapter (7.48) makes this point, with its variety of verbs for 'return'. An ordered and organized 'withdrawal' or retreat from Sicily, and therefore return to Athens, was a serious option well before the final sea-battle which deprived the Athenians of their *nostos*. The opening passage, which interestingly implies a vote by the ordinary troops, uses *anachōrēsis*, 'withdrawal', 'retreat'. ('Nikias did not want withdrawal to be openly voted on by many,' para. 1.)[76] And there was an element in Syracuse itself which 'did not want (Nikias) to leave', *apanistasthai* (para. 2).[77] Nikias was actually undecided, but said publicly that he 'would not bring away (*apaxein*) the army'; he knew that the Athenians at home would take it very badly if they 'returned' (*apelthein*) without a vote of authorization (both para. 3).[78] And the very same Athenians, who were now saying loudly what a desperate situation they were in, would 'on arrival there', i.e. back at Athens, (*ekeise aphīkomenous*) turn round and say loudly that their commanders had 'returned' (*apēlthon*) because of bribery and treachery (both para. 4).[79]

We have already mentioned *aponostō*; some other compound verbs in *νοστ-* should not be neglected. When considering both Thucydides and Herodotus, we can ignore the technical *hyponostō*, which merely describes the settling or subsiding of water, and is of no relevance for our purposes.[80] By contrast, there exists what one might have expected to be a useful and popular verb: *katanostō*, 'return from

[74] 3.112.8: *ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐσώθησαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν*.

[75] For good remarks about the *nostoi* theme in Th. see Fragoulaki 2013: esp. 190–2.

[76] *οὐδ' ἐμφανῶς σφᾶς ψηφιζομένους μετὰ πολλῶν τὴν ἀναχώρησιν . . .*

[77] *οὐκ εἴα ἀπανίστασθαι*.

[78] *οὐκ ἔφη ἀπάξειν τὴν στρατιάν . . . μὴ αὐτῶν ψηφισαμένων ἀπελθεῖν*.

[79] *ἐκεῖσε ἀφικομένους τἀναντία βοήσεσθαι ὡς ὑπὸ χρημάτων καταπροδόντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀπῆλθον*.

[80] Hdt. 1.191.4, Th. 3.89.2. One Platonic passage deserves mention for yet another compound, *περινοστῶ*: see *Rep*. 558a, *περινοστεῖ ὥσπερ ἥρως*. The combination with 'hero' is interesting, but the whole expression is contemptuous and simply denotes a 'circumambient spirit'. Against any connection with returning heroes from Troy see Adam's commentary.

exile' (cf. *kathodos*, the regular noun for such return, and *katerchomai*, the regular verb for it). But, surprisingly, it is not attested before Polybius.[81] Otherwise the surviving text of Polybius never uses any *nost-* word, neither *nostos*, nor the verbs *nostō* or *aponostō*, despite his usual liking for compound verbs, sometimes double compounds.[82] Indeed, by the Hellenistic period—or even earlier—it would perhaps have been odd to use the noun *nostos* about historical figures at all; contrast Herodotus on Xerxes, above. Thus Diodorus' only use of any *nost-* word is *nostos* itself, in a mythical context.[83]

In a special and separate lexical and actual category is return from exile, usually expressed by compound nouns and verbs with the prefix *kat-* ('back' is one meaning of the preposition *kata*). Both Herodotus and Thucydides frequently use *katerchomai* and *kathodos* (verb and noun respectively) for this idea; cf. above for Polybius and *katanostō*, and see further below for exile generally.

The homeward march of Xenophon and the Ten Thousand to Greece in 399 BCE[84] might seem an obvious place to look for words related to *nostos*. The noun is, however, never used. That is perhaps unsurprising, see above; but Xenophon the author might have allowed himself to use it in one poetically tinged passage in particular, where he recalls Xenophon the soldier drawing on Homer's *Odyssey* to tell the troops that he fears that 'like the Lotos-eaters, we will forget

[81] Pol. 4.17.10, *οἱ δὲ κατανοστήσαντες*, describing exiles returning to Kynaitha in Arkadia, *c.*217 BCE.

[82] In Polybius' full text, the return of Hannibal to North Africa, after his many years in Spain and Italy, may have made for a memorable *nostos* narrative; but we have only Livy's account of Hannibal's self-critical emotions on leaving Italy forever (30. 20. 7–9; not Polybian, according to Tränkle 1977: 26).

[83] Diod. 4.65.3, citing 'certain mythographers' for an opinion about the *return* of Theseus and Peirithoos from the underworld. Diodorus does not even use a *νοστ-* word where a myth practically imposes it: at 4.72.4, Alkinoos is said to have effected Odysseus' return to Ithaka, but the Greek is *καταγαγὼν εἰς Ἰθάκην*, he 'brought him back to Ithaka', i.e. he arranged for him to return there. Nor does Diodorus follow epinikian usage when describing the *nostos* of Empedokles (Purcell, this volume, p. 278), or the disastrous return voyage to Sicily of the Syracusan *θεωροί* (representatives) from the Olympic Games of 384 BCE, at which Dionysios I's teams performed equally disastrously: 14.109.4 (the date: Lewis, *CAH* 6^2 139 n. 82).

[84] On the return of the Ten Thousand see esp. Dillery 1995: 59–98; Ma 2004; Harman 2016. There is no modern commentary on the *Anabasis* in English, but for good notes to reliable translations see Cawkwell 1973 and Rood 2005. For a useful German commentary on historical matters (no Greek text or translation) see Lendle 1995. For book 3 see Huitink and Rood forthcoming.

the way home.'[85] Again, Leon of Thourioi at the beginning of book 5 actually names Odysseus, and says he would like to 'return to Greece flat on his back, like Odysseus'[86] (*Anab.* 5.1.2). But the word Leon chooses is not a cognate of *nostos* but the colourless *aphīkesthai*, 'to arrive'.

Nor, in the *Anabasis*, are the verbs *nostō* or *aponostō* ever applied to the Ten Thousand themselves. For the most part, Xenophon uses more prosaic and colourless words for their return, such as *apienai*[87] or *aphīkesthai*.[88] (On 'safety' words see above and below; and note the emotionally charged periphrasis 'whoever desires to see his relatives again', let him remember to be a brave man.)[89] But the compound verb *aponostō* is found just once,[90] and it is highly marked. Near the end of book 3, there is an analeptic reference to a huge army which had once been sent by the Persian king against the Kardouchoi, but 'not a single one of them returned because the terrain was so harsh.'[91] This resembles, and may well be imitated from, those marked passages in Herodotus discussed above, where a large army is said to have been destroyed so completely that few/none returned, *apenostēsan*; and the unique use of the verb recalls Thucydides' unique use of the verb in just the same vein.[92]

We have already seen that 'safe-return', expressed by an extension of the meaning of *sōtēriā* ('safety', 'survival') or *sōzesthai* ('to be saved') is one way in which Xenophon and his speakers (including

[85] *ὥσπερ οἱ λωτοφάγοι ἐπιλαθώμεθα τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ* (*Anab.* 3.2.25).

[86] Sleeping deeply on the ship supplied by the Phaiakians, *Od.* 13.78–80.

[87] See e.g. 1.3.11 and 13, both times contrasted with *μένειν*, 'remain'; 1.7.4 (speech by Kyros).

[88] E. g. 6.1.17, with *οἴκαδε*, 'homewards'.

[89] *Anab.* 3.2.39, *ὅστις ὑμῶν τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπιθυμεῖ ἰδεῖν* . . . Dillery 1995: 70 renders Xenophon's exhortation at 3.4.46 (*ἄνδρες, νῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα νομίζετε ἀμιλλᾶσθαι, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας* . . .) as follows: 'now, men, consider that you are struggling for Greece, now you are trying to reach your children and wives . . . '; but there is no verb for 'reaching' in the Greek at this point. Warner 1973 similarly assumes a verb of motion: 'you are fighting your way to [etc.]'. By contrast, Waterfield 2005 has 'with Greece, with your children and wives as the prize'. Tim Rood, whose Cambridge commentary on books 3 and 4 with Luuk Huitink is forthcoming, tells me that he regards *ἐπί* and *πρός* as variants with no difference in meaning, and that 'struggling for' should be understood with 'children and women' as well as with 'Greece'. The Greek of the whole sentence is not easy, but it seems that Waterfield is right against those who assume a verb meaning 'returning'.

[90] It is, in fact, the only *νοστ-* word in any of Xenophon's writings, not just *Anabasis*.

[91] *τούτων δ'οὐδέν' ἀπονοστῆσαι διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν* (*Anab.* 3.5.16).

[92] See further Huitink and Rood forthcoming, n. on the word.

himself) express the idea of a successful *nostos*.[93] An analeptic passage late in the *Anabasis* discusses the motives of the Greek troops who had joined Kyros; it stresses the financial incentive and ends: 'since that was what they were like, they yearned to get back safely to Greece.'[94] (But see below for the truth or otherwise of this final assertion.) Dillery even suggests[95] that on one significant early occasion *sōtēriā* 'takes on literally magical force', because as soon as Xenophon uses it in his address to the troops after the murder of the Greek generals, saying that there are 'many excellent hopes for safety',[96] someone sneezes. This is taken to be an omen, in effect a *klēdōn* or divinely sent chance utterance. It causes Xenophon to suggest the sacrifice of *sōtēria* (neuter plural, 'offerings for safety') to Zeus *Sōtēr*, Zeus the Saviour, 'when we first reach a friendly country'.[97] Xenophon's speech rings the changes on the *sō-* ('safe', 'save') root thereafter (3.2.9–11).

The narrative of the return of the Ten Thousand fluctuates between two motives which are in obvious tension: desire to go home, and desire to settle abroad and even to found a colony.[98] (The acquisition of booty, a persistent theme, goes with either of these motives.) In fact, the soldiers and their officers have different motives, or different mixtures of motives, at different stages of the expedition (and surely different individuals were differently motivated).[99] The most extreme and poignant expression of the desire for return comes at the beginning of book 3: the leaderless soldiers could not sleep for 'grief and longing (*pothos*, an emotive noun as we have seen)[100] for their fatherlands and parents and wives and children, all of which they thought they would never see again' (*Anab*. 3.1.3). On the other hand, it has often been noticed in the modern literature that, by the end of the narrated events, most of them do not seem to have wanted to go

[93] See LSJ *σώιζω* II. 2: '*pass*. come safe to a place'; Dillery 1995: 69–70. Cf. above p. 7 for the combination *νόστιμος* and *σεσωσμένος* in Aeschylus.

[94] *τοιοῦτοι ὄντες ἐπόθουν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα σώιζεσθαι*: *Anab*. 6.4.8 with Dillery 1995: 80. The emotive main verb is cognate with *pothos*, 'desire for what is absent', which we will meet again in connection with Arrian.

[95] Dillery 1995: 69.

[96] 3.2.8, *πολλαὶ ἡμῖν καὶ καλαὶ ἐλπίδες εἰσι σωτηρίας*.

[97] 3.2.9, *ὅπου ἂν πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν χώραν ἀφικώμεθα*.

[98] Dillery 1995: 89 ('contradictory goals of the Ten Thousand', 'tension between return and settlement'); Harman 2016. Colony: 6.4.1–8 (Kalpe) is specially revealing.

[99] Dillery 1995: 64–5, following Nussbaum 1967: 147–52, distinguishes four separate phases.

[100] For Herodotus see above, p. 15.

home at all.[101] But although return and overseas settlement are logically incompatible—you cannot both stay and go—thematically, there is a link, as we shall see when we come to Lykophron: many cities traced their origins to a failed or imperfect mythical *nostos*.

Cities and *nostoi* go together conceptually then. Indeed, one response by a Greek army to the delayed or thwarted return to the city (*polis*) or cities of its constituent troops was to reconstitute itself as a *polis* far from home. The Ten Thousand certainly did this during one phase of their homeward expedition, and other Greek armies stranded abroad did it before and after them.[102] A particularly instructive parallel is the coalition (not just Athenian) army which had invaded Sicily in 415 BCE and found itself stuck before Syracuse two years later. For an analysis of the crucial chapter of Thucydides, see above, p. 18.

Alexander the Great's invasion of Asia was the greatest *anabasis* of all. Arrian, its best surviving, though entirely derivative, historian, was an admirer of Xenophon, whatever exactly he meant by presenting himself as the 'new Xenophon'.[103] The rhetorical detail of Arrian's speeches is no doubt invented, and Arrian arguably draws on Xenophontic themes and language at what was in the most literal sense the main turning point in the narrative. It was in 326 BCE that the combat-fatigued Macedonians at the river Hyphasis in the Punjab (modern Pakistan) first revealed that they had had enough, and mutinied. Arrian makes Koinos son of Polemokrates address Alexander with the *parrhēsia*, freedom of speech, which was supposedly a Macedonian tradition. Repeatedly using words of the emotive *poth-* root ('longing', 'yearning', cf. above),[104] he tells him that the troops 'feel a longing,

[101] Cawkwell 1972: 44 and esp. 280 n. 8, 'the majority displayed little zeal to return to their own cities when they got back to Greece,' echoed and endorsed by Dillery 1995: 80; cf. also Ma 2004: 334 ('resolution and return are constantly deferred') and Harman 2016: 134.

[102] Dillery 1995: 77–90 ('The Ten Thousand as *polis*: utopia and dissension'), again following Nussbaum (1967: 150), argues that this was true especially in the third of the four phases into which they subdivide the narrative, i.e. in books 5 and 6. In Hornblower 2004b, it should have been made clear that it was not being claimed that the army of the Ten Thousand behaved as a sort of *polis* for more than part of the time.

[103] Schwartz 1959: 136, 140; Stadter 1967, also 1980: 14 with 190 n. 11.

[104] For *pothos* in the Alexander-historians see the down-to-earth treatment by Brunt 1976–83: 1. 469–70 = App. V. 3. Bosworth 1980–95: 2. 352–3 thinks Arrian's inspiration for Koinos' speech 'seems to derive from the rhetorical schools', but also that *pothos* at 5.27.6 was 'a theme which Arrian found in his sources . . . in particular

pothos, for their parents, if they are still living, a *pothos* for their wives and children, and a *pothos* for their homeland, which . . . they long to see again (*epidein pothountes*) after their return (*anastrephontes*)'.[105] This speech produced uproar and even tears, further proof that what the rank-and-file audience wanted was a return home, an *apochōrēsin* (5.28.1). Alexander sulks in his tent, Achilles-style, for a few days, but then announces that he had decided to turn back.[106] The presentation is to an extent Xenophontic, but the historical situation is very different from the experience of the Ten Thousand, who were not being driven on beyond endurance by a king possessed of Alexander's power and charisma. This was a *nostos* straightforwardly imposed on a commander by exhausted and homesick troops. But no *nost-* word is applied to it either by Arrian—or by Diodorus, for whose only use of *nostos* see above n. 83 (Theseus and Peirithoos). It is, however, impossible to say for sure whether Arrian reproduces, at any point in his Hyphasis section, the language of his main sources, Ptolemy, Aristoboulos, or Nearchos.[107] Diodorus' source for the Alexander narrative of book 17 was Kleitarchos. His account of the mutiny on the Hyphasis (17.94.5) is extremely brief, and must be a reduction of a far fuller original.

Another and subtler form of *nostos* characterized the Macedonian expedition; it is the subject of Robin Lane Fox's chapter in this volume. The Macedonians and their Thessalian fellow-combatants regarded their invasion as a return to places once inhabited by their ancestors and kin. Thus the Thessalians Medeios and Kyrsilos, prominent companions of Alexander, discovered that they were kinsmen of Armenos the companion of another Thessalian, Jason: that is, he was an Argonaut (Strabo 11.14.12). They even found there 'Iasonia', shrines for the worship of Jason, a word which may represent an Iranian word for a shrine. Lane Fox argues convincingly that this episode should be dated 330 BCE, in the time of Alexander, rather than after his death, and that it was a special royally-commanded mission

Nearchos, but its emphatic formulation here is his own work.' His commentary on ch. 27 as a whole has references to several earlier writers (Pindar, Herodotus, Thucydides); Xenophon ought surely to be added as an influence. Bosworth 1980–95: 1. 14 plays down Arrian's debt to Xenophon at the level of detail (cf. Bosworth 1988: 26: the History of Alexander is 'deeply indebted to Xenophon in style and content, but displays little direct imitation'); he might have taken this passage into account.

[105] Anab. 5.27.6. On *pothos* for family in Xenophon, above p. 21.

[106] *ἔγνωσταιὀπίσω ἀποστρέφειν* (5.28.5).

[107] See above for Bosworth's view.

to Armenia. Alexander himself, as Lane Fox shows, conceived of his entry into 'India' (modern Pakistan) as a kind of *nostos*. But his arrival there on the tracks of Dionysos was more like rivalry towards a forerunner than a charter for conquest; at all events, Alexander did not claim to be descended from Dionysos, so this is not a kinship-based assertion of ancient legitimacy. Similarly—as Lane Fox argues, adducing Pseudo-Oppian and more conjecturally Euphorion—Hellenistic Thessalians near Apameia (previously Pella) in Syria[108] thought that Herakles opened up the city's great river Orontes. They explained the Syrian landscape by memories of the Thessalian Peneus valley back home. Such expressions of sameness rather than otherness were ways of coping with new environments, which lost their terror and strangeness when recognized as resembling what they or their ancestors had left behind in the north of Greece. For New, i.e. Syrian, Pella as the alleged 'site of a true *nostos*', see Lane Fox, p. 211: Herakles had been there before the historical Macedonians arrived.

The Armenian story just considered shows that the voyage of the Argo was a continuing point of reference. Of the historians, Herodotus mentions the Argo twice in his Libyan logos in book 4, and again in book 7, where he explains that 'it is said' that Herakles was left behind at a place on the gulf of Magnesia (and he proceeds to summarize that part of the story, to explain the name Aphetai, 'place of departure').[109] Thucydides has nothing, but in Xenophon's *Anabasis*, when the Greeks arrive at the territory of Herakleia on the Black Sea, they pass 'Jason's headland, where the Argo is said to have moored'.[110] The talking ship Argo is attested as early as Aeschylus, and thereafter by Kallimachos and his imitator Apollonios, who describes how 'Pelian Argo cried out in eagerness to depart'; the final infinitive is related to *nostos*, but here means 'to set out'. Finally Lykophron likens the ship to a chattering jay.[111]

[108] See Cohen 2006: 94–101 and Fraser 2009: 338.

[109] Hdt. 4.145 and 179; 7.193 (this version differs from that in Apollonios, where Herakles is left behind in Mysia).

[110] *Anab*. 6.2.1. The sentence is needlessly bracketed as an interpolation by Rehdantz 1882: 131–2 and by the *OCT* (Marchant). It is accepted as genuine by Warner 1972 and Waterfield 2005, and (in their notes on those translations) by Cawkwell 1972 and Rood 2005.

[111] A. fr. 20 *TrGF*; Kall. fr. 16 Pf. (and perhaps fr. 108–9 Pf., see Harder 2012: 2.178); Ap. Rh. 1.525, *Πηλιὰς ἴαχεν Ἀργὼ ἐπισπέρχουσα νέεσθαι* (and cf. 4.580–2, an actual speech in *oratio obliqua* by the ship!); Lyk. *Alex*. 1319, *λάληθρον κίσσαν*; see also *GP* 406 (Antipater of Thessalonike), a boat struck by lightning 'told its own tale and did not long for the keel of the Argo', *καὶ φράσεν Ἀργώιην κοὐκ ἐπόθησε τρόπιν*'.

Apollonios Rhodios' *Argonautica*, almost as much Lykophron's *Alexandra* (whose author had the additional advantage of knowing Apollonios' poem), is in creative dialogue with many of the literary works we have considered so far. This is true of prose predecessors as well as poetic (for example, the barbarian Mossynoikoi feature in Xenophon's *Anabasis*, Apollonios, and—by clear allusion—Lykophron).[112] Certainly the *nostos* theme is of enormous importance to both Lykophron and Apollonios.[113] But Lykophron's *nostoi* are returns from Troy, whereas Apollonios' heroes lived a generation before the Trojan War. Lykophron's discursive narrative manner nevertheless enables him to include episodes about many of the Argonauts (Peleus, the Dioskouroi, and the 'one-sandalled *tagos*' himself, i.e. Jason, 1310), so that it is possible to speak of 'Lykophron's *Argonautica*'.[114] We will return later to Lykophron, undoubtedly the most important and varied of all surviving literary sources of *nostos* myths.

The *nostos* of the Argonauts is from Kolchis not Troy, and in straightforward narrative terms it begins properly only in the last of the four of Apollonios' books. It has been truly remarked[115] that Homer's *Odyssey* is a return only, whereas Apollonios describes a voyage out and a voyage home, and that the only Homeric counterpart to this is the journey of Telemachos narrated in the first four books. But the return of the Argonauts has featured thematically from the beginning of the entire poem: Apollo effectively guarantees it in answer to Jason's promise at Pagasai of future sacrifices by 'those of us who return'.[116] Again, Hypsipyle speaks later in book 1 of Jason's eventual return.[117] One of the more striking reminiscences of the Odyssey's *nostos* theme is in book 3, not book 4: Medea begs Jason to 'think of me when you return back home'.[118] The thought

[112] *Anab.* 5.2; Ap. Rh. 2.1015–29; Lyk. *Alex.* 433 (*μόσσυνας*); cf. also Ain. Tact. 33.3.

[113] Kallimachos certainly wrote about the Argo: see above p. 24, and esp. fr. 198 Pf., which is very close to, and in Pfeiffer's view was the model for, the final episode in the *nostos* of the Argonauts, Ap. Rh. 4.1765–72 (Aigina). But *νοστ-* words are not a feature of the surviving fragments. At *H.* 3.255–8, near the end of the hymn to Artemis, Kallimachos says with great emphasis that Lygdamis, who led an army of Kimmerians against Artemis' sacred city Ephesos, was not destined to return, *νοστήσειν*, and nor were any of his army. This belongs in the Herodotean category of defeated armies which never return (see above p. 17). The solemn spondaic infinitive opens line 258, the initial position which it also always occupies in Ap. Rh. (1.79; 3.89; 4.561): Bornmann 1968: 126.

[114] S. West 2009. [115] Clare 2002: 171.

[116] *ὅσσοι κεν νοστήσομεν* (1.417, which will be picked up at 4.1704–5).

[117] *δή ποτε νοστήσας* (1.892).

[118] *μνώεο δ', ἤν ἄρα δή ποθ' ὑπότροπος οἴκαδ' ἵκηαι* (3.1069).

here recalls the charming Nausikaa's Homeric farewell to Odysseus (*Od.* 8.461–2), but at the same time the language almost exactly reproduces Odysseus' words to the suitors before he kills them: 'you thought I would never come home,' *hypotropos oikad' hikesthai* (for this line see above, p. 9). They thus convey a sinister anticipatory hint in the mouth of Medea, whose relationship with Jason has not yet gone wrong, but soon will.

As Lowe emphasizes,[119] *nostos* in Homer is routinely 'sweet', *glukus*, *glukeros*,[120] or even 'honeyed', *meliēdēs* (*Od.* 11.100). Interestingly, Apollonios never uses either of these adjectives in connection with 'return'; the only example of *meliēdēs nostos* in the poem is textually suspect. On the usually accepted reading, the Sirens are supposed to 'take away honey-sweet return';[121] but there are serious difficulties about this, and perhaps the correct noun is not *noston* but *thūmon*, 'life'.[122] Apollonios does not wish to repeat cheerful Homeric formulae; this is of a piece with the sinister hints discussed above.

Lykophron's *Alexandra*

N. J. Lowe (this volume, 183) describes Homer's *Odyssey* and Lykophron's *Alexandra* as 'the two great poems of return'. This Introduction assumes an early second-century BCE composition date for the *Alexandra*, and therefore a pseudonymous author; not, that is, the attested third-century tragic poet Lykophron of Chalkis, who is associated with Ptolemy II Philadelphos. Most of the *Alexandra*

[119] This volume, p. 181.

[120] See Lowe, this volume, pp. 181–2, on *Od.* 9.28 and 34 (Odysseus' description of Ithaka).

[121] *μελιήδεα νόστον ἔλοντο* (4.901).

[122] See Livrea 1974: 261–2, long and acute n. on 4. 901, pointing out (with some indebtedness to H. Fränkel 1961: 206, the *OCT*) that at 4.381 and 4.841, *νόστον ἑλέσθαι* has the positive sense 'obtain/resume a return', and that the identical combination of words (the *iunctura*) cannot in the same author have an exactly opposite and negative meaning ('take away/deprive of return') at 4.901. Neither Race 2008 nor Hunter 2016 discuss the difficulty, or even cite Livrea's emendation in their apparatus criticus (Vian 2002: 109 registered it in his apparatus, but dismissed it with the word *frustra*, 'to no avail'). Hunter, by way of defence of *ἔλοντο*, gives other examples of verbs in Apollonios Rhodios which lack a needed prefix, which here would be *ἀπό*, '(take) away'; but that does not meet the objection of Livrea, whose own suggestion equally requires that *ἀπό* be understood. Livrea plausibly supposes that the corruption was early, and influenced by *Od.* 11.100, for which see text above.

consists of a future-tense narrative of a long series of *nostoi*.[123] The Trojan princess Kassandra's prophecy occupies all but the first thirty and last fifteen lines of the 1,474-line poem, and one main organizing principle is the sufferings of the victorious Greeks as they attempt to go home; they are all being punished, she says for the evil deed of one man (365),[124] namely the sexual assault on herself by Lokrian Aias at the time of the fall of Troy. It is therefore surprising at first sight that the actual noun *nostos* is found once only in the entire poem (910). But in Lykophron, such restraint of usage often[125] indicates the importance of what is being described. In fact, the negative adjective *anostos* will occur in a parallel bridge section (1033). Both passages are resumptive, and both have the same message: that the Greeks will not have a safe, or any, return. *anostos* has a Homeric pedigree: at the end of the *Odyssey*, Homer (or his continuator) says, in a nice example of 'if . . . not' presentation, that Odysseus and his companions would have rendered the suitors *anostous*, if Athena had not intervened to stop them (*Od.* 24.528).[126]

The long central section of the *Alexandra* relates the many pan-Mediterranean homecomings or attempted homecomings, from Troy of famous and not-so-famous Greeks, but also the wanderings of the defeated Trojans. These are in fact charter myths or myths of colonial identity, and are mostly attached to famous individuals from Homer, the Hesiodic poems, and the Epic Cycle. That is personalization. The longest sections of the *Alexandra* are devoted to the biggest names: Odysseus, whose *nostos* is the subject of Stephanie West's chapter; Menelaos; Diomedes, who unusually gets two separated treatments in the poem, and whose archaeological and epigraphic footprint on the central Adriatic island of Palagruza ('a landmark, not a destination') is discussed by Catherine Morgan in this volume; and among Trojans, Aineias, founder of Rome. (Strictly, *nostos* should mean return of Greeks from Troy, but there is some reason to think that the word and concept might be extended to include refugee Trojans, who were

[123] For the full list see Lowe, this volume, pp. 184–5.

[124] In this section, simple references of this sort are to lines of the poem.

[125] Another example is the word ἥρως, 'hero', which is used once only in the poem, about Hektor, who has a special place in his sister Kassandra's affections (1205). For other examples see Hornblower 2018: 114.

[126] See also *Od.* 4.182 ἀνόστιμον (Odysseus). For another instance of ἀνόστους in a Homeric context see Aristotle fr. 145 Rose (commenting on *Il.* 2.305, Kalchas and the snake portent).

not usually returning anywhere; see below, p. 36 for Lysimachos of Alexandria, cf. also 137n. 64.) Two of these individuals gave their names to famous epics: Homer's *Odyssey* and Virgil's *Aeneid*. It has been said that all the best plots can be reduced to just three words: withdrawal, disaster, return. That works for the Bible, the *Iliad*, and the *Odyssey*. It works for the *Aeneid* and the *Alexandra* of Lykophron if we see the triumph of Rome as a *nostos* of Troy reborn.

Lykophron does not always deal in Homeric certainties. Thus the two oikists of Cyprus, Kepheus and Praxandros, were natives of Achaia and Sparta respectively; and Lykophron's mouthpiece, the Trojan Kassandra, is made to insist (586–7) that these two were *not* leaders of sailor folk, but were of nameless stock—a paradox since they have just been named. This presentation by negation, to use the language of narratology, is a broad and correct hint that these two oikists did not feature in the Catalogue of Ships in book 2 of the *Iliad.* The so-called 'old scholiast' on Lykophron knew nothing of narratology, but he saw the point: he comments 'for they do not appear in Homer's Catalogue'.

Nor does Kassandra always talk in terms of individuals rather than collectives. That is, she is not always what Beloch would have called a naive historiographer. An interesting example is the curiously obstinate tradition of Rhodian, specifically Lindian, settlement in South Italy, at Kroton in Bruttium and Naples in Campania. Kassandra says that Philoktetes, who had himself gone west after the fall of Troy as Guglielmo Genovese discusses in his chapter, went to the help of the 'Lindian commanders' who had settled in the Kroton region and who came to blows with the Achaians there. Now a parallel tradition, the *de mirabilibus auscultationibus* (*On Marvellous things Heard*, *περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων*) attributed to Aristotle, specified that these wandering Rhodians were led by Tlepolemos, who was indeed the Rhodian commander named in the Homeric *Catalogue* as bringing nine ships for the Greek navy.[127] But whether intentionally or not, the poet makes Kassandra a better historian than pseudo-Aristotle, because, in book 5 of the *Iliad*, Tlepolemos was killed by Sarpedon and was in no position to lead anybody anywhere this side of Hades. So these are leaderless Lindians, and there are other examples of such collectives in Lykophron, such as the Boiotians

[127] Lyk. *Alex.* 923; [Ar.] *mir. ausc.* 107.

who mysteriously settle in the Balearic islands[128] or—an even larger and less specific collective—the Greeks who go to Malta.[129]

Lykophron is not just telling a series of adventure stories. He is particularly keen on the female angle; the miseries of all the Greeks are represented as punishment for the rape of Kassandra by Lokrian Aias, a retributive idea traceable via Euripides' *Trojan Women* back to books 1 and 3 of the *Odyssey*, where Athena imposes a *lūgros nostos*, a painful return, on the Greeks; and Zeus does the same to punish their injustice.[130] Many other female figures are similarly said by Kassandra to be the victims of male violence or intrigue.[131] This is specially true of the poet's account of the foundation of Miletos, where the female angle is quite exceptionally prominent, and recalls some details in Herodotus, though the obscenity is new.

This prompts reflections on the role of women in early colonization and *nostos* traditions; this is the subject of Tanja Scheer's chapter. She shows that with a very few exceptions—thus Helen remarkably achieves a successful *nostos* with her good name intact—women have no active role to play in *nostos* traditions. This is largely because, in this area at least,[132] mythical roles correspond to actual historical reality. In the mythological tradition, women may prevent a successful *nostos*, and they may function as a kind of booty to be taken home by the successul hero on his return. But they cannot have a *nostos* of their own because of the social constraints which mean they have not set out in the first place. The woman, as a signifier for the home desired by the hero, is rather the goal of the male *nostos*.

[128] 633–7. The story has been explained by analogy with the myth that Boiotians from Thespiai (the 'Thespiadai', fathered by Herakles on the daughters of the eponymous King Thespios) went to Sardinia. See [Ar.] *mir. ausc.* 100, perhaps from Timaios, and Diod. 4. 29, with Curchin 2007 and Kühr 2011: 221 n. 8. Curchin's explanation is ingenious but the alleged link is tenuous, no more than the similarity between the name Balearic and an attested Sardinian tribe name Balaroi (Strabo 5.2.7; Paus. 10.17.5). The details and the structure of the stories have little in common beyond their transport of Boiotians to the western Mediterranean, and their likely Timaian origin. Kühr audaciously detects in the Thespiadai story a trace of Athenian imperialism in the West (Thespiai was often aligned with Athens in the Classical period).

[129] Lyk. *Alex.* 1027–33 with Bonanno 1980.

[130] E. *Tro.* 427–44; for Homer see above, p. 8.

[131] Biffis 2012: ch. 2.3.

[132] In some respects, mythical women (as they feature, for example, in tragedy and epinikian poems like Pindar's *Pythian* 11) sometimes invert and defy the historical reality, at least the Classical Athenian reality. But this does not seem to be true of female roles in narratives of *nostos*. The constraints were too strong.

Could slaves have a *nostos*? Nicholas Purcell's chapter addresses the question, and notes that, although they surely remembered what they had lost, their origins were deliberately effaced. Prisoners of war were regularly enslaved, but might return if a ransom was paid; that is, if their families were wealthy enough.[133] But usually, chattel slaves were deracinated for ever. A passage of Xenophon's *Anabasis* tells of a curious exception, a soldier among the Ten Thousand who tells Xenophon that he recognizes that the language of the Makronians is his own. Xenophon uses him as an interpreter, but otherwise shows no interest in him, and does not even bother to report his name. Modern scholars have conjectured, probably correctly, that the man was a slave who had somehow found his way into the army, and so found an unexpected *nostos*. We should like to know what happened to him next. Did he stay in his natal place, or march on with his comrades in arms?[134]

Lykophron's Kassandra was herself a slave of a familiar sort: she was war booty, a sex slave. The *Alexandra* generally provides an excellent textbook selection of reasons why Greeks left home and went overseas: many of the poem's heroes do initially get home to Greece from Troy but find things not to their liking there. That is a comic understatement as an account of the bloody *nostos* of Agamemnon; but there are others who survived marital break-up and then set out again on their travels unscathed, except emotionally. These include Diomedes of Argos or Aitolia, and Idomeneus of Krete.

As Lykophron presents things, the motives or precipitating factors leading to new settlements were many. One was to be driven off course by storms when returning from Troy. This mytheme was already present in Thucydides, who had used it to explain the foundation of Skione in Chalkidike by Achaians from Pellene. That mytheme is exploited by Lykophron to explain the wandering Rhodians in Italy.[135]

Another is the motif of kin-killing. An example of a kin-killing oikist in the *Alexandra* is Elephenor of Euboia. This motif, found

[133] See Kelly 1970 for the ransoming of some of the Athenians who surrendered in Sicily (413 BCE). For Athenian gratitude to one such ransomer, Epikerdes of Kyrene, see Dem. 20.41–2 and *IG* 1^3 125.

[134] Xen. *Anab*. 4.8. The story is exploited by Ma 2004: 332–42 and (apparently independently) by Hunt 2015: 101–2. Both of them think he had been a slave.

[135] Th. 4.120.1; Lyk. *Alex*. 924–6.

also in Pindar's seventh Olympian ode, recurs in sober historians. Alkmaion in Thucydides kills his mother and is told he can escape pollution (the only occurrence of the root *miasma* in all Thucydides) only by settling in a location which did not exist when he did the awful deed. So he founds a city on newly silted-up land.[136] But, it may be objected, that is still myth not history. From genuinely historical time there is Timoleon of Korinth, who in the mid fourth century BCE refounded Syracuse in Sicily, after killing his brother as an act of virtuous but nevertheless polluting homicide. And there are Archaic examples also.[137]

A further mytheme, well represented in the poem, is that of rivalry between colonial families. This is very relevant to Lykophron's section about the colonization of Lesbos and the Aiolid. The *Alexandra* is not all of it set in mythical time: the historical colonization of Asia Minor is the subject of an excellent but by modern scholars strangely under-exploited section near the end of the poem, just before the fully historical Persian Wars episode. Rivalry between seers is a related type of colonial mytheme in the *Alexandra*; see below for Naoise Mac Sweeney's political explanation of the poem's very full coverage of the Kalchas-Mopsos contest, and of Kalchas' final resting-place at Kolophon. Finally, oracular sanction for overseas settlement is a frequent Lykophronic motif, as it was in history. As late as the 420s, the Spartans consulted Apollo at Delphi before founding their new city Herakleia in Trachis.[138] Finally, we have seen (above p. 12), citing Genovese's chapter in this volume, that the myths of Philoktetes and Epeios can be seen as performing a 'pacificatory' function between indigenous peoples and new arrivals in South Italy. The peaceful coexistence, which is thus made possible, is symbolized by the two heroes' dedication of their warlike tools and weapons, in sacred places common to all members of mixed communities.

So much for motives and reasons. What of emotions? We have seen that *nostos*-related emotions—especially as they feature in

[136] Lyk. *Alex*. 1038–40: 'for because he is a murderer, for him to set foot on the dry land / of his ancestors before he has been in exile for a great period, / will be forbidden by Telphousia [the Erinys or Fury] who supports justice.' Pi. *O*. 7.27–33; Th. 2.102. 5–6.

[137] Diod. 16.65.2–3. For the Archaic period see Dougherty 1993.

[138] Th. 3.92.5. For an explicit report of the failure of an earlier Spartan, Dorieus, to do this see Hdt. 5.42.2.

tragedy—are discusssed by Lowe and Biffis, who trace the creation of identity by means of *nostoi*.[139] Lykophron, too, has an emotionological contribution to make. The *Alexandra* places poignant and recurrent emphasis on the *pothos*, yearning for home, felt by colonial Greeks when far from home;[140] there are striking historical as well as poetic examples of this emotion. One of the saddest stories dates from 323 BCE. Diodorus of Sicily, here transmitting Hieronymos of Kardia, described how, after Alexander's death, the Greeks settled by him in the Upper Satrapies (such as Baktria) rose in disastrous revolt, out of *pothos* for their Greek customs and way of life, *diaita*.[141] Again, Seleukos I, after he had defeated Lysimachos at the battle of Koroupedion in 281 BCE, crossed over to Macedonia because he had a *pothos* for his fatherland; he was assassinated moments after setting foot on European soil again after fifty years of absence.[142]

Sometimes the actual word *pothos* is not needed to make the point: in the *Alexandra*, Diomedes' Aitolians in Daunia 'remember in sadness their former way of life (*diaita* again)'. No revolt for them, but instead a metamorphosis. They have been turned into birds (a motif picked up by Virgil and Ovid), and bird- and animal-metamorphosis is another colonial motif.[143] Nostalgia is not itself an ancient word, but it is formed from two ancient Greek words: those for 'return' and 'pain'. Another important *nostos*-related emotion is hope: Catherine Morgan argues that one function of *nostos* myths was 'future-proofing': they 'express hope without a guaranteed outcome' (below, p. 217).

Finally, we should ask what might be the implications, for the development of *nostoi* traditions, of the composition date for the *Alexandra* accepted by those contributors to this volume who address the point.[144] One return, that of the Aitolian Diomedes, receives

[139] Note also Malkin, this volume, p. 86: 'the cognate of *nostos* is *noos*, "mind", with its implications of memory of the self, namely "identity".'

[140] For *pothos* used explicitly of colonial nostalgia see 645, 903, and 1074.

[141] Diod. 18.7.1, *ποθοῦντες μὲν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ δίαιταν*; cf. Herodotus on the Phokaians, above p. 15.

[142] *FGrHist* 434 Memnon F 8 with Kosmin 2014: 82.

[143] Lyk. *Alex.* 609, *τῆς πρὶν διαίτης τλήμονες μεμνημένοι*. Cf. Aristoxenos of Taras (fr. 124 Wehrli= Ath. 632a) on the people of Italian Poseidonia (Paestum), who celebrate only one Greek festival at which they 'recall the ancient names and practices, and lament with one another and go on their way shedding many tears'; on this passage see Purcell, *CAH* 6^2 393–4. Birds motif: V. *A.* 11.271–7, Ovid, *Met.* 14.456-511.

[144] Morgan (p. 216); Mac Sweeney (p. 256); the author of this Introduction.

unusual double treatment in the poem (592–632; 1047–66). His importance in the poem has been conjecturally explained[145] by the political and military importance in the Hannibalic War (218–201 BCE) of the region known to the Greeks as Daunia, whose main city Argyrippa, Latin Arpi, claimed Diomedes as its founder (Lyk. *Alex*. 592). The family of the Dasii from Arpi boasted descent from Diomedes,[146] and their political manoeuvrings were narrated by Livy. Kassandra's prophecy about the local future of Diomedes' 'own Aitolian stock' (623) is a cryptically expressed but certain reference to the Dasii.

Again, Naoise Mac Sweeney identifies a contemporary aspect to the poet's interest in the failed *nostos* of the Homeric seer Kalchas, whose tomb was displayed at Ionian Kolophon.[147] (As she shows, it is even possible that the tomb itself can be identified on the ground.) She suggests that the defeat of the Greek seer Kalchas by the indigenous Anatolian seer Mopsos is a signifier for the entire Trojan War, and that the second-century BCE Kolophonians identified themselves with the Trojan side to the contest (i.e. with Mopsos) as a form of what she calls 'ancestral analogy diplomacy'. That is, by their attention to the Kalchas-Mopsos myth they wished to ingratiate themselves with the Romans, the descendants of the Trojans as presented by Lykophron, and the new masters of western Asia Minor. The myth was old (see above for Kalchas in the Epic Cycle), but the exploitation of it in a Roman context was new. Paradoxically, the Kolophonian co-opting of Kalchas at this time meant that, as Mac Sweeney puts it, this 'may not have been a case of celebrating Kalchas himself, but rather of celebrating his defeat' (that is, at the hands of Mopsos). With the suggested Kolophonian identification with the Trojans may be compared the partially similar phenomenon of the Apollonians of Illyria (Catherine Morgan, this volume), who identified themselves with the Trojans, but who also contrived to hint at post-conflict reconciliation with the victorious Greeks. (The Europe-Asia reconciliation at the end of Lykophron's *Alexandra*[148] suggests itself as an analogy.)

[145] Hornblower 2016. [146] App. *Hann*. 31.
[147] On Kalchas see also Fowler, this volume: p. 47. [148] Lyk. *Alex*. 1448.

Prose Authors of *Nostoi*

Not all authors of *Nostoi* were poets. We may leave aside early mythographers like Hellanikos, whose works covered *nostoi* traditions but were not actually called *Nostoi*. Robert Fowler has discussed these early writers illuminatingly in his *Early Greek Mythography*.[149] From the Hellenistic period, when foundation myths were still very much alive and some were perhaps actually created, we may single out two authors of *Nostoi*, Antikleides of Athens and Lysimachos of Alexandria.

Antikleides seems a clear case of mis-categorization by Jacoby in the *Fragmente*, because he classified him as an Alexander-historian.[150] In fact only one of his twenty-one fragments (the one is from Diogenes Laertius) is definitely from his *On Alexander* (*Περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου*), as against six which are definitely from his *Nostoi*. Of the 'Fragmente ohne Buchtitel' (fragments without book title), only three are probably Alexander-related, while six are probably from the *Nostoi*. An Oxyrhynchus papyrus fragment of a Greek lexicon published too late for inclusion by Jacoby, mentions the Mardi tribe (from India) and so may be from *On Alexander*, but the readings are very uncertain.[151] Finally, the Suda entry says 'Antikleides: he wrote an *About nostoi*' (or perhaps: 'a work about *nostoi*').[152] It says nothing about Alexander. Schwartz wrote a dismissive article about him in the *Real-Encyclopädie*, reprinted in 1959, and endorsed by Jacoby.[153] The 1959 reprint is an improvement on Jacoby in that it classifies Antikleides' writings not among Alexander-histories but among 'Sammelwerke', a German word hard to translate into English, but meaning something like 'Miscellaneous'. Schwartz wrote that Antikleides' work lacked internal coherence, it was 'ohne inneren Zusammenhang'. This is perhaps too hard. It is true that the surviving fragments of the *Nostoi*, which was in at least eight books, vary greatly in subject matter, and some are frivolous. They cannot all be

[149] *EGM* 2.

[150] *FGrHist* 140. Antikleides is not the only so-called Alexander historian who might be categorized differently than he was by Jacoby. Menaichmos of Sikyon (*FGrHist* 131) was more like a local or *polis*-historian.

[151] P. Oxy. 1802; Pearson 1960: 252–3 and n. 54.

[152] *α* 2671 Adler, *Ἀντικλείδης· οὗτος ἔγραψε Περὶ Νόστων* . . .

[153] Schwartz 1959: 233–4 [*R.E.* 1. 2425–6].

discussed here. One fragment (4, from the *Nostoi*), told a romantic version of the foundation of Methymna, featuring a king called Gras; this showed that Antikleides was unaware of or rejected the alternative tradition about the founding role of the Penthilidai, descendants of Agamemnon's son Orestes. This latter version, given by the local mythographer Myrsilos, was part of a cluster of *nostos* myths of which Lykophron was also aware.[154] Schwartz thought that Antikleides' work a mere romantic mishmash, but he conceded that it was not only a much-read book but was thought worth citing by a serious authority, Apollodoros of Athens, in his monograph on the Homeric *Catalogue*.[155] So he cannot have been all that bad. We should not go all the way with Schwartz and conclude that by Hellenistic times the genre of literary *Nostoi* had degenerated into trivialiy and frivolity. Antikleides is of special interest to students of Lykophron, because we owe to him our knowledge that there was a tradition about Kassandra's prophetic gifts other than the usual one about her promise-breaking denial of sex to Apollo when she had grown up. On Antikleides' version (not from the *Nostoi*), she and her brother Helenos had their ears licked by a snake in childhood.[156]

If we stay with Hellenistic prose writers of *Nostoi*, we meet further problems of categorization. A weightier figure than Antikleides was Lysimachos, who was a contemporary of Lykophon if he flourished about 200 BCE,[157] and was grouped by Jacoby among local historians of Boiotia.[158] This, too, was arbitrary. Five of Lysimachos' assigned or assignable fragments are from a collection of Theban marvels, as against no fewer than eleven from the *Nostoi*, of which there were

[154] *FGrHist* 477 Myrsilos F 14. For Orestes and the Penthilidai in the Aiolid, including Lesbos, see Lyk. *Alex*. 1374–7 with Hornblower's note.

[155] *FGrHist* 140 F 21 (from Strabo 5.2.4), with Jacoby's note, and Schwartz, as above.

[156] *FGrHist* 140 F 17.

[157] On his date (uncertain) see Schachter's biographical essay in *BNJ* no. 382 (cf. next note).

[158] *FGrHist* 382; also *BNJ* 382 (Albert Schachter); note that *BNJ* fragment 12b—certainly from the *Nostoi*—was not picked up by Jacoby. It is from the grammarian Herodian, and mentions a son of Paris called Aganos. And it is probable that *FGrHist* 52 Plesimachos F 1 (from his 'second book of *Nostoi*') is really a fragment of Lysimachos; see Schachter's biographical essay in *BNJ* 382, and K. Dowden on *BNJ* 52 F1. If so, this is of interest because it concerned Diomedes, whose *nostos* featured prominently in Lykophron and other sources, as we have seen: p. 30.

That the Atthidographer Kleidemos wrote a *Nostoi* (*FGrHist* 323 F15) is doubtful. Jacoby suspected textual corruption. (See also his n. 41 on Lysimachos.)

at least three books. The *Nostoi* certainly dealt with the returns of Achilles' son Neoptolemos/Pyrrhos (fragments 8 and 10a and 10b), Odysseus (11 and 15), perhaps even Diomedes (see n. 158), and others to be considered below. One fragment (9) gave detail about the tradition, also known to Lykophron, that Theseus' much-travelled son Akamas founded cities in distant places: the Troad (Lysimachos, perhaps reflecting fifth-century BCE Athenian territorial claims) and Cyprus (Lykophron).[159] The sons of Theseus had gone to Troy to recover their grandmother Aithra, and their return was also the subject of other fragments of Lysimachos (13 and 14, perhaps 18). But perhaps the most important fragment (6) is about the Antenoridai, the descendants of the Trojan Antenor, and their presence at Kyrene. It supplements the evidence of Pindar in *Pythian Five* (lines 80–8). Antenor was regarded in antiquity as having been at least sympathetic to the Greek cause, if not an actual traitor.[160] According to Lysimachos, the Antenoridai sailed away from Troy with Menelaos and settled in Libya,[161] exhausted by storms and everlasting wandering. Lysimachos mentioned a hill of the Antenoridai, 'between Kyrene and the sea', a key piece of evidence.[162] The wanderings of the Antenoridai could have been described in a separate Trojan book of Lysimachos' *Nostoi* (in which case this would be evidence that the word *nostos* could be applied in a Virgilian way to Trojans as well as Greeks);[163] or they could have featured as part of the *nostos* of Menelaos. We can only hope for more Lysimachos from papyrus finds. But he seems to have specialized in giving non-standard variants of myths, and perhaps tended to be cited for these, so that our view of him may be skewed towards the abnormal. Further finds might not change that much.

From the above, it can be seen that Jacoby's great work might be rethought and reorganized so as to recognize a separate category of authors of *Nostoi*. In any case, anyone interested in pursuing *nostoi*

[159] Lyk. *Alex.* 494 (Cyprus).

[160] This tradition starts with *Il.* 7.350–1, where Antenor proposed that Helen should be given back to the Greeks.

[161] Lysimachos does not show awareness of the tradition, attested in Sophocles' *Antēnoridai* (*TrGF* 4 fragments 137–9), which took Antenor to north Italy; see Jacoby's commentary on F6, n. 45.

[162] For a plausible attempt to disentangle and make historical sense of the awkward traditions see Malkin 1994: 52–7 (arguing that the hill was not a suburb of Kyrene but some 200 kilometres to the east of the city).

[163] See above, p. 27, and for the rationale, Lane Fox, below, p. 193.

traditions must start by trawling all the fifteen volumes of Jacoby's *Fragmente* systematically, not just the volumes dealing with the early mythographers.[164] And word-indexes alone are not enough because, as we have seen repeatedly in this Introduction, the word *nostos*, and the title *Nostoi*, are not necessary indicators of what we are looking for, even in the mythical sphere. For example, the regular word for the return of the Herakleidai, treated by Ephoros in particular, was *kathodos*.[165] The return of the Argonauts was treated by Hellenistic prose authors, as well as by the poet Apollonios. Examples are Timaios, Myrsilos from Lesbian Methymna, and the local historian of Kyzikos, Deiochos or Deilochos.[166] The Lindian *Anagraphē* recorded dedications by the companions of the Rhodian Tlepolemos after their leaderless return from Troy, citing the historian Gorgon (second century BCE?).[167] The influence of the great 'returner' Odysseus on Greek (prose) historiography has been explored by Marincola.[168]

EXILE AND RETURN FROM EXILE

One species of return was marked off by its characteristic vocabulary: return from exile.[169] Exile in Greece was not usually banishment for a

[164] Unknown to Jacoby was a catalogue of authors inscribed at Sicilian Tauromenion. The initial publication of this contained, in the section about Fabius Pictor, a reference to a [*νόσ*]*τον* of Lanoios (eponym of Lanuvium) [and of?] his ally Aineias, and Ascanius (*SEG* 26.1123 frag. III col. A lines 7–10). This might have counted as ancient evidence that the word *nostos* could be used of wandering cityless Trojans, as well as of Greeks returning from Troy (for this point see above p. 27, also p. 36 on Lysimachos). But Battistoni 2006: 176 (cf. *SEG* 56.1106 for a summary) thinks the reading of the crucial word is uncertain, and that the supplement may be one letter too short. His own text of lines 7–10 has now been adopted by *FRHist* 1 Q. Fabius Pictor T7: *καὶ A . . . EI*/[- ca. 4-].*ον Λανοίου σύμ*/[-ca. 4-]*N ὑπὸ Αἰνεία καὶ*/[-ca. 4-] . . . , etc. (But note that Jones 1995: 235 n. 12, cf. 1999: 171 n. 33, suggested reading *Λατίνου* for *Λανοίου*, Latinos not Lanoios.)

[165] *FGrHist* 70 F 18, cf. F115–17. It is tempting to try to do something with the Arkadian place name *Νοστία* at F 234 (cf. *FGrHist* 115 Theopompos F 175), but the root may rather be *Νεστ-*.

[166] *FGrHist* 566 Timaios F 85–8; 477 Myrsilos F 1; 471 Dei(l)ochos.

[167] *FGrHist* 532 B9. See also B 10 and 12 for Menelaos and his pilot Kanopos.

[168] Marincola 2007. He evidently does not consider Lykophron the author of the *Alexandra* as any kind of historian. In an article forthcoming in *SCI* (37 (2018), pp. 45–67), Hornblower will argue the case for so regarding him.

[169] Still useful collections of evidence for Greek exile: Balogh 1943 (Archaic and Classical periods) and Seibert 1979 (all ancient Greek history until the Roman conquest). Of more recent work see Forsdyke 2005, Garland 2014, and (for the fourth

specified term of years. The general words *phugē* and *pheugō*, 'flight' and 'flee', are often used, and cover situations where a person fled voluntarily and for an indefinite period, so as to avoid trial. But 'permanent flight', *aeiphygia*, might be specifically imposed.[170] The Athenian institution of ostracism was highly unusual in explicitly permitting return after ten years' absence.[171]

Xenophon's Ten Thousand must have included not a few exiles, in the strong sense of people who could not go home, as opposed to people who chose not to. One of these enforced exiles, a Spartan named Drakontios, makes a brief but vivid appearance at the end of book 5.[172] He had gone into exile after an involuntary act of homicide: as a boy, he had accidentally killed a companion with a whittling-knife. There was a famous precedent for him, Achilles' friend Patroklos of Opous, who was taken in by Peleus because he had unintentionally killed another boy during a game of knucklebones, and gone into exile (*Il.* 23.85–92). As we have seen (p. 31), exile for homicide, especially of close kin, is an ingredient in many Greek colonization myths, and also in historical actuality, in both the Archaic and Classical periods.

Drakontios enters Xenophon's narrative because the soldiers elect him to organize some impromptu victory games. He chooses a rough patch of ground and displays a suitably Spartan sternness towards the physical pain this will cause to others. By a convincing piece of psychological insight, the Greeks on the expedition are sometimes represented as having a heightened awareness of their city identities. This is nicely illustrated by an exchange of teasing between Xenophon the Athenian and Cheirisophos the Spartan, as they discuss which group should be the one to mount an ambush. Each pretends to defer to the other's superior claims. Xenophon says he has heard that you Spartans are taught to steal from an early age (this, incidentally, is one of the earliest pieces of good evidence for the Spartan *agoge* or upbringing, sometimes regarded by modern scholars as a late myth). Cheirisophos counters by saying he has heard that you Athenians are very good at embezzling public funds.[173]

century BCE) McKechnie 1989. For the Hellenistic period see above all Gray 2015, demonstrating connections between political theory and civic practice.

[170] See e.g. R/O no. 49 lines 5–6 (Amphipolis, 357 BCE).

[171] *FGrHist* 328 Philochoros F 30; Plut. *Arist.* 7. 2.

[172] Xen. *Anab.* 4.8.25–6; Ma 2004: 332–3.

[173] Xen. *Anab.* 4.6.

We have seen already that Polybius was the first attested author to use the verb *katanostō* for return from exile; nor did it catch on after him, as far as the evidence allows us to say. The prefix, *kata-*, 'back', does as much work as the *nost-* element, and is found in most of the one-word formations for return from exile (that is, leaving aside lengthened and pathetic elaborations such as 'see wives and children again', the positive counterparts of negative ones for exile such as 'be deprived of territory, graves, sanctuaries…' and so on)'.[174] The standard noun, a kind of exilic synonym for *nostos*, is *kathodos*, the 'road back'. Verbs in *kata-* proliferated with an exilic sense. An otherwise prosy inscribed decree, that concerning the return of exiles to Tegea in Arkadia in the time of Alexander, mostly uses *katerchomai*, but then towards the end surprises us by switching once to an obviously disparaging verb *katherpomai*, literally 'creep back'. The reference here appears to be to a particular group of returning exiles whose credentials will have needed checking.[175]

The return of exiles often created problems: disruption of the stability of the *polis*, with resulting risk of *stasis* (internal strife);[176] and property disputes between returners and possessors. One consequence of the King's Peace of 386 BCE (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.28) was to facilitate, even if it did not specifically ordain, the return of exiles. This led to political friction, and disputes which might be referred to the courts for settlement.[177] Two generations later, Alexander's famous decree commanding the return of all exiles, announced by Nikanor at the Olympic festival in summer 324 BCE (Diod. 18.8), caused massive unrest. It meant, to specify only the most serious upheaval, that the Samians would be permitted to return to their island[178] after forty-four years of the presence there of a large Athenian cleruchy (above, n. 10), and this was one cause of the Lamian War between the Athenians and Macedonians after the death of Alexander.[179] At the micro level, inscriptions show how Alexander dealt with the disputes arising from such mass returns of exiles. The

[174] For this example see Pol. 2.61.9 with Gray 2015: 2.
[175] R/O no. 101, line 55.
[176] On this problem, and the mechanisms for coping with it, see Gray 2015.
[177] See Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.34 (Korinth) and 5.2.10 (property disputes at Phleious, as a result of return of exiles, to be dealt with by the courts).
[178] R/O no. 90. [179] Habicht 1997: 30–5.

Tegea inscription, already mentioned above, is one such text; and there is another inscription concerning Mytilene on Lesbos, though it is now thought that this may belong in the 330s, another period of upheaval at Mytilene.[180]

Is ancient exile always to be thought of as bad? Syme observed, in connection with Thucydides, that exile can be the making of a historian,[181] and Momigliano—in a brilliant essay on Timaios which contained unmistakable elements of autobiography—wrote of the 'sharp eye of the only half-assimilated foreigner'.[182] But those are modern opinions, as is Nadine Gordimer's cryptic epigram that exile is a 'mode of genius'.[183] Among ancient thinkers, the Hellenistic Cynics went furthest in judging exile positively: exile is not exile, and the lawless man is an exile even if not exiled.[184] Paradoxes of this sort may have given comfort to a few philosophically-inclined souls. But for most normal people, exile was a calamity, and return from it was something to be prayed and schemed for. For politicians and soldiers, a return from dignified exile can be turned to advantage. Modern examples include two charismatic figures who both returned from Parisian exile: Konstantinos Karamanlis of Greece (1974) and Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran (1979). From Rome, there are Metellus Numidicus and Cicero. Greek examples are not easy to come by. At Athens, the ostracized Aristeides returned under a general decree of recall, and served Athens well at Salamis in 480. Kimon also returned from ostracism (late 450s), but his period of greatness was over. No other ostracisés resumed their careers successfully after their decade away from Athens. The Spartan king Pleistoanax was reinstated in 426 after a long exile,[185] but what he achieved in the years thereafter was only moderately memorable, and did not match up to the fuss that had been made to bring him home.

[180] R/O nos. 101 (Tegea) and 85 (Mytilene).

[181] Syme 1962: 40. For the thought, see already Plutarch *On Exile* 14 (*Mor*. 605 cd), adducing Thucydides, Xenophon, Philistos, Timaios, and Androtion; also 'Bacchylides the poet, in the Peloponnese'.

[182] Momigliano 1977: 38 (actually said about Theophrastos, but with Timaios also in mind, as the sequel makes clear). See also 51, explicitly about Timaios: 'as often happens with people who live in isolation, he saw something that others did not see.'

[183] Gordimer 1988: 288. See a forthcoming study by Jeffrey Tatum on 'Metellus Numidicus on Marius in his exile epistolography' (delivered at Haifa, Israel, on 14 June 2017), to which this section is indebted in its Cynic aspect.

[184] Branham 2007; cf. also Nesselrath 2007.

[185] Th. 5.16.3.

CONCLUSION

We have just seen that exile was not always viewed negatively. To return to the main theme of this Introduction: was *nostos* always 'sweet', in the conventional Homeric adjective? Much depends on point of view: it was not sweet for the Homeric suitors and the maidservants who dangled at the end of nooses in the closing scenes of Homer's *Odyssey*;[186] or for Alexander the Great, forced to turn back from Pakistan by his mutinous troops; or for those Tegeans or Mytileneans who had been occupying land now reclaimed by returners. And it was not uniformly sweet for Xenophon's Ten Thousand, not all of whom seem to have been specially keen to go back to their home cities (above, pp. 21–2). Nor should we forget how many *nostoi* were faulty or 'frustrated' (Mac Sweeney, below, p. 245), although their failure was the soil in which new and vigorous communities might grow. Again, the right of colonial return, explored in Irad Malkin's chapter, was presumably not exercised lightly or with a sense of achievement. 'Home is where, when you have to go there, / They have to take you in', says a speaker in a poem by Robert Frost.[187] But in ancient Greece, returning would-be colonists might be driven away again from their former homes with missiles.[188] In the Roman period, the expulsion of an age-class by the ritual known as the *ver sacrum*[189] was another violent denial of *nostos* (Purcell, below p. 279).

Nicholas Purcell's chapter draws provocative attention to certain negative aspects of home and homecoming, suggesting that mobility can be seen as the norm and home as a 'denial of displaceability', or a 'back-formation from displacement'. We have met many examples of *pothos* in the above pages, but Purcell uses Empedokles to argue that

[186] See Malkin, this volume, p. 86: 'from a communal perspective, his (Odysseus') *nostos* was a disaster.'

[187] From 'The Death of the Hired Man' (1914). The speaker is Warren, to his wife Mary, who has just said 'It all depends on what you mean by home.'

[188] Hdt. 4.156.3, Theraians driven back to Libya.

[189] By the declaration, in times of state emergency, of a 'sacred spring', all the flocks of a particular springtime were consecrated to the gods, and the young men born at that time were driven out of the community when they had grown up. See Wissowa 1912: 145, Latte 1960: 124, and Palmer 1997: 123. For a suggestion that there was a human (not solely agricultural) aspect to the *ver sacrum* declared after Trasimene in 217 BCE, but not implemented until a little more than two decades later, see Hornblower 2018: ch. 7 n. 23 (there was a burst of Roman colonizing activity in the mid 190s).

the self-conscious wanderer may learn to pine for home no longer. Conversely, if fixity is the normal fate of the slave (above, p. 30), it is hardly a condition to be desired. But for Christians, homelessness in the normal sense was a source of pride: 'for here we have no continuing city; but we seek one to come.'[190]

To be sure, there are deep-rooted ambiguities in attitudes to departure and return. The positive and the negative are most eloquently juxtaposed in two nearby chapters of Thucydides. In the first (6.24.3), he uses the word *pothos* for the only time in his History. But here it does not mean yearning for home—the sense we have met so often in the above pages—but yearning for departure, felt by the young men about to set out for Sicily. A couple of pages later (6.30.2–31.6) he describes the anxious emotions of those at Piraieus who fear that they may never see their loved ones again, who are about to travel so far away. They hope, although Thucydides does not say so in as many words, that their kin will have a 'sweet return'. We have seen (p. 17) that in the final chapter of book 7, where Thucydides uses a powerful *nost-* verb to explain that very few did so.[191]

[190] Hebrews 13: 14, used by Brahms in his *German Requiem*. The English translation of the latter version runs 'on this earth we have no continuing home.'

[191] This discussion has been mainly about literary texts. Epigraphic prose uses of *νοστ-* words are rare (inscribed epigrams feed off e.g. Homer). *SEG* 34.1648 is a dedication 'for a return' (*ὑπὲρ νόστ*[*ου*]), but it is late (3rd cent. CE) and the reading not quite certain. For another doubtful example see above, p. 37 n. 164.

LGPN shows that there are several epigraphically attested personal names in *νοστ-*, but they may relate to 'grain-yield'. Bechtel 1917: 563 regarded the (not uncommon) name Nostimos as a poetic formation; at 572 he classified Eunostos, Eunostidas and so on as heroic names, cf. above p. 6 n.17.

Finally, Nostos has no entry in *LIMC* (unlike Eunostos, IV.1: 65–6) or in *R.-E.*, and seems—despite its powerful emotional charge—not to have been personified.

2

The *nostoi* and Archaic Greek Ethnicity

Robert L. Fowler

If one reads the mythological narrative of the *nostoi* as straight history, as many Greeks of later centuries did, one would conclude that their ancestors *c.*1100 BCE were in a very bad way. Hardly anyone had returned from Troy, and most of those who had were killed or evicted. Some survivors didn't even try to get home, going instead to Italy or other far-off places to build new towns. The old mainland kings and their families were all gone. Thebes was still in ruins. Hordes of so-called Thessalians had swept across the Pindos and pushed whole populations southwards. The Dorians had come from the north and taken over the Peloponnese. They claimed to be Heraklid, returning to their ancestral home; whatever the truth or comfort of that explanation, they had caused complete upheaval in Messenia, Lakonia, and Argos. The old Achaians were restricted to the north shore of the peninsula, at the expense of the poor Ionians who were forced out. Some of these put down roots in Attica, but others were trying to make a new start overseas. Many groups joined the exodus: Minyans, Abantes, Dryopes, Kadmeians, Pelasgians, and more. In their new homes they often met stiff resistance from the indigenous peoples.

Such is the grim tenor of the tradition. The *nostoi* were, as Irad Malkin has put it, a Big Bang in Greek history;[1] a year zero, a reboot of the system. Why was this so? The traditional answer has been that it reflects the collapse of Bronze-Age Greece. At a very general level this may be true, but not very helpful. The mismatch between the sudden and violent change depicted in the stories and the archaeological record

[1] Malkin 1998a: 3; this volume, p. 86.

is well known.[2] Within the myth, the displacement of the old royal lines in north and central Greece and in the Peloponnese is remarkably systematic and comprehensive. The cult of heroes, with its similarities to ancestor cult, would lead one to expect more claims of continuity and descent, at least among aristocratic clans, than we in fact find.[3] Scholars have long since abandoned the notion that myths like this reflect history in any straightforward way; rather, they represent the perception of history among the people who tell the stories. We need to ask what kind of ideology shaped this one.

The Greek belief is relevant that the Age of Heroes was qualitatively different from ours, a belief which implies a break of some kind between then and now. This is part of the answer, but cannot be all of it; a more orderly and gradual transition could have been effected, if, at the time the *nostoi* tradition became settled, people had wished it to be orderly. Instead, what we get is the violent extermination of the two great dynasties of Thebes and Mykenai, and ubiquitous turmoil. If we ask in whose interest it was that the stage should be thus emptied for a new cast of characters, the answer is, precisely, the new cast: the Hellenic tribes emerging on the mainland, especially the Dorians and Aiolians. While the epic tradition was being perfected overseas, the Thessalians propagated the story of descent of all Greeks from Hellen and his sons.[4] They slotted themselves in as Aiolians, an ethnos that claimed practically all of central Greece, and even the west Greek Aitolians as their own. The Dorians, in order to be Hellenic, logically had to start life in the same part of the country; and so say the legends, even though their homeland was by then, and perhaps always had been, in the Peloponnese. This sense of ethnicity emerged in the late eighth and seventh centuries. The archaizing *Iliad* nonetheless shows itself aware of the new order, which is fully in place by the time of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* about 580. The process took perhaps a century, which is relatively rapid considering the diversity and extent of the groups that had to be brought under one rubric.[5]

[2] References in Fowler 2013: 124 n. 8, 334 n. 1.

[3] See further below p. 57.

[4] The crucial role of Euboia in an earlier stage of the tradition was demonstrated by West 2011b, 2011c; see also Lane Fox 2008. However, the final form was reached in Ionia; how the Euboian phase might have treated these matters cannot be known.

[5] For details of the process, supporting evidence, and argument see Fowler 2013: 122–30, with bibliography. Homer's awareness: *Il.* 2.655, 6.154, 13.685–9, *Od.* 11.235–59, 19.177.

The stories in the *nostoi* tradition steer carefully clear of these events. The major heroes fail to get home, or if they do, they do not stay there to found clans. Even minor heroes, for the most part, are blown to the edges of the world (Illyria, Libya, Epirus, Cyprus, Daunia) by the centrifugal force of this wind.[6] The dovetailing is impressive and looks deliberate. It follows that, whatever form some primeval *nostoi* tradition might have taken, in its final form it was obliged to respect the ethnic and political order prevailing on the mainland.

Further analysis of the Hellenic mythology confirms the separation of the traditions. Homer does not call the Greeks at Troy Hellenes, but conceptually for his audience they were proto-Greeks, notional ancestors. Ethnogenesis requires that the original ancestor be primeval or effectively so. The Trojan War happened long after the birth of civilization. For these reasons Hellen, first generation after the *Urmensch* Deukalion, had to precede the War. Bellerophon in the *Iliad* is an Aiolid, grandson of Sisyphos (*Il.* 6.154), which acknowledges the chronology. The essential Dorian mythology also conforms to the dating: Doros' son Aigimios promised a third of his kingdom to Herakles, and adopted his son Hyllos; Herakles is of course already dead in Homer. But everyone knew that the migrations and invasions happened after the War; we now recognize this as the period of the historical Hellenic ethnogenesis. The chronological awkwardness has long been noted. It was especially problematic for the Dorians, because of their additional beliefs that they were Heraklid, and that they had succeeded the Trojan-era dynasty in Sparta and Mykenai. Had the two traditions grown up together in the same place, we might have had a tidier picture; we might have been told, for instance, that Heraklid Dorians fought at Troy. Instead, we have the contrived story of Hyllos son of Herakles and the unsuccessful attempts to invade the Peloponnese over three generations, a palpable artifice whose purpose was to open up the necessary chronological gap between the founder Doros and the post-Trojan Dorians.[7] On the Aiolian side, that originally independent traditions were arbitrarily brought together is clear when one tries to line up the generations: characters who figure in the Trojan saga are slotted into the Aiolian stemma quite at

[6] Details below. [7] Prinz 1979: 277–9.

random, and in defiance of chronology.[8] By the time mainland and overseas traditions joined up again, there was no possibility of radical revision. We shall inquire at the end of this chapter why such rapprochement was not attainable.

It is further instructive to look at the details of the separate migrations, and how they relate to the previous mythological age. The overseas branch of the Aiolians claimed to have been led there by Orestes or his descendants. What is the Pelopid Orestes to the Aiolians? Whatever the positive reason for this choice might have been—perhaps being close to the Troad fostered a desire to affiliate to its conqueror—the negative side seems just as significant, viz. that there was no descendant of Aiolos available for the job, not even one from the Boiotia-centred *Catalogue of the Ships*, nor again from the numerous cast of Aiolians in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, whose mythology has almost nothing to do with Troy.[9] The mainland tradition developed independently, and by the time it linked up with the overseas tradition, it was no longer possible to insert a returning Aiolian hero to lead the migration. Indeed, the concept 'returning Aiolian hero' was not available.[10]

The Ionian ethnos was itself defined by the migration; the amazing variety of peoples who joined them symbolizes their progression from *multiplex* to *simplex* (to the extent that they were ever *simplex*) at this stage in their history, not before.[11] If anywhere, here in the land where

[8] See the charts in West 1985: 173–6. Nestor is three generations after Aiolos; Diomedes is nine; Klytaimestra is nine; Protesilaos is three; Glaukos is five. Moreover, only Nestor descends from Aiolos in an unbroken male line.

[9] Nestor (great-grandson of Aiolos) is the most prominent hero in the *Catalogue* who might be called Aiolian; Diomedes is only Aiolian if one accepts the *Catalogue's* subsuming of the Aitolians into the Aiolian stemma (and even if one does, the connection is very remote). The *Iliad* does not identify Nestor as Aiolian, however, and the opportunity to give his descendants a role in post-Trojan Aiolian myth was not taken. See further below p. 52. The Athenian Menestheus supposedly founded the Aiolian city of Elaia (Strabo 13.3.5, cf. 13.1.67 'an Aiolian city') but its age and Aiolian standing are uncertain (not mentioned in his list of old Aiolian cities by Herodotus 1.149.1; *IACP*: no. 1041). And Menestheus was not Aiolian.

[10] This constitutes another argument against the idea that the Aiolian ethnos was created not on the mainland but in Aiolia; cf. Fowler 2013: 154.

[11] Fowler 2013: 571. Herodotus 1.146 lists Abantes, Dryopes, Kadmeians, Phokians, Minyans, Molossians, Pelasgians, and even Dorians among contemporary Ionians; Pausanias 7.2.3 adds that the Kadmeians (Thebans, he says) were led by Philotas, a descendant of Peneleos who fought at Troy (*Il.* 2.494 and mentioned seven other times in the fighting). On the Ionian migration generally see also Mac Sweeney 2013; Hornblower on Lyk. *Alex.* 1378–87.

the epic tradition was brought to its *telos* one might expect to find links to Trojan or Theban heroes. At first glance the Ionians had a link to Troy by way of their founder, Neleus from Pylos, since Pylos was Nestor's home. But this Neleus was descended not from Nestor but from his brother Periklymenos,[12] and none of his ancestors fought at Troy. Though the Ionians were victims of the general upheaval—Melanthos, grandfather of Neleus, was evicted from Pylos along with Nestor's grandsons by the invading Herakleidai—this link to pre-Trojan Pylos is, I suggest, derived from Athens, who successfully claimed to be the motherland of the Ionians and whose ideology of long, settled history required them, to the extent possible, to play down the disruption of the War. It could not be totally occluded; it was at precisely this time that the old royal line ran out. Theseus' sons Demophon and Akamas have a role in the Trojan saga—they went there to rescue their grandmother—but the last Theseid, Thymoites, ceded the kingship to the Neleids when he cravenly refused to defend Athens against Xanthos of Boiotia. No Athenian participating in Trojan events was an ancestor of anyone participating in the migration.[13] Regarding the whole tradition as a retrospective aetiological construction, one may speculate that the basic datum was that the leader of the Ionian migration was a hero named Neleus; a link to the homeland was needed, and supplied by the homonymous Neleus of Pylos, suitably placed in the Peloponnese where modern study of the dialect history confirms affinity.[14]

Some Ionian cities did make room for involvement, in a small way, of Trojan or Theban players in earlier phases of their history. Refugees fleeing with Kalchas after the Trojan War settled in Erythrai (Paus. 7.3.7), and Kalchas, Sthenelos, and Idomeneus were all buried at Kolophon (Lyk. *Alex.* 424–33; for Kalchas, see Mac Sweeney, this volume). These events happened before the Ionians arrived, of course, and we know nothing of the subsequent role they might have played in these *poleis*' sense of identity. The 'Pamphyloi' who came to Erythrai with Kalchas were literally a motley crew, and Kalchas himself was claimed by several cities. A connection with the oracle

[12] Hellanikos fr. 125, Paus. 2.18.8.

[13] The stories of Akamas' colonizing activities in the Thracian Chersonese and Cyprus do not seem to antedate the mid to late sixth century: Kearns 1989: 88–9; Parker 1996: 86.

[14] Was this the ultimate reason why Neleus, son of Salmoneus and really at home in Thessaly, was said to have emigrated to Pylos?

at Klaros near Kolophon does not seem to have existed.[15] The little Ionian town of Phygela was supposedly founded by Agamemnon himself (Theopompos *FGrHist* 115 F 59, Strabo 14.1.20), and here we do know of an historical tribe Agamemnonis (*SEG* 4.513, of about 300 BCE): an exception therefore to the case we are building, but this is a very unimportant place in the Ionian world. Sarpedon, another Trojan warrior, was the first founder of Miletos (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.185–88a); but he was not Greek. Refugees from the destruction of Thebes led by Manto daughter of Teiresias were among the early inhabitants of Kolophon (Paus. 7.3.1–3), but once again before the Ionians arrived. Pausanias says the Ionians, when they came, established citizenship on equal terms with the Thebans (*sumpoliteia*), but the Ionians had the kingship and the tale keeps the two groups apart as much as together. At Priene, Philotas of Thebes, descendant of Peneleos who fought at Troy, was co-founder with Aipytos son of Neleus (Paus. 7.2.3, 7.2.10), and other sources suggest a strong tradition of Theban involvement there (Hellanikos fr. 101, Phanodikos *BNJ* 397 F 4b, Strabo 14.1.3, 14.1.12). Pausanias in this case speaks of 'mixing', but Strabo in the first passage cited says the two groups arrived at different times. All in all, these stories suggest only desultory attempts to create links, and mostly weak ones at that, with the Trojan or Theban past.

The tale of the Dorian migration eastwards after their arrival in the Peloponnese contrasts instructively with the Ionian. Although in mythical chronology the events happened at roughly the same time,[16] the Dorian ethnos was already indisputably formed: the logic of the Return demanded nothing less. It is no surprise then that the colonizing parties consisted of nothing but Dorians, coming straight from already Dorian cities: from Troizen to Halikarnassos, Iasos, and Myndos; from Megara to Astypalaia; from Sparta to Melos and Thera.[17] There was no temptation or need to create links back Trojan

[15] Fowler 2013: 546–7 for the sources.

[16] Theras settled Thera in the generation following the Return of the Herakleidai (Hdt. 4. 147–8); Melos was founded in 1116 (Th. 5.112.2); Melanthos, the Neleid who came to Athens when the Herakleidai returned, was grandfather of Neleus who led the Ionian migration (Hellan. fr. 125).

[17] Craik 1980: 149–92; Fowler 2013: 591. Some Minyans were on the boat to Thera, but they were already domiciled in Lakedaimon (Hdt. 4.145–6). Troizen historically had Ionic elements in its population (cf. Hall 1997: 101; Lloyd-Jones 1999: 9; *IACP* no. 357), and Halikarnassos itself was much influenced by neighbouring Karian and

or Theban heroes; all that was irrevocably in the past.[18] A more interesting point about the Dorian migration is the mythological manoeuvring needed to harmonize stories of the earlier settlement of some Dorian islands (Krete, Rhodes, Knidos, Kos, Karpathos, Kasos, Nisyros, Kalydna) by Herakleidai or Thessalians (in the case of Krete a son of Doros himself coming directly from Thessaly) with the belief that these places were also colonized by Dorians from the Peloponnese. However this problem was handled (the solutions do not concern us here), in no case was room made for Trojan links; at Kos, an existing link was actively broken: the Heraklid chieftains Antiphos and Pheidippos who had fought at Troy (*Il.* 2.678) emigrated immediately afterwards, leaving the stage clear for Dorians from Epidauros.[19]

Ionian and Dorian cities began founding colonies in the late eighth century, which is the period when these ethnic groups were achieving their definition. In South Italy, there were also 'Achaian' cities: Sybaris, Kroton, Kaulonia, Poseidonia, Metapontion. Although in some accounts, the oikists came from Achaia in the north Peloponnese—Strabo, for instance, says (6.1.15) that Sybaris was founded by Is of Helike—there are good grounds for thinking that other stories attributing the foundations to Greeks returning from Troy were older.[20] On this understanding, the Achaian cities adopted

Ionian populations, but for Herodotus (7.99.3) and Kallimachos (fr. 703 Pf.) it was an unambiguously Dorian foundation, and in this context it is the perception that counts (Jameson 2004). The Salmakis inscription (*c.*100 BCE, *SEG* 48.1330; *SGO* 01/12/02; Sider 2017: no. 5) claims at lines 27–30 that Athenian and Eleian settlers preceded the Troizenians, a claim of doubtful antiquity. Strabo at 14.2.16 implies multiple founders of the city (of whom Anthes was the main one), while at 14.2.6 he names Megarians as co-settlers (but these are at least Dorians). See further Bremmer 2009: 305–6 and Gagné 2006: 19–25.

[18] An inconsequential exception: Diod. Sic. reports (5.54.2) that four of Agamemnon's ships returning from Troy were shipwrecked at Kalydna; the sailors settled there and intermarried. For Theras and the Aigeidai see below p. 58.

[19] Apollod. *Epit.* 6.15, cf. Paus. 8.5.2; Tzetzes on Lyk. *Alex.* 911 = Apollod. *Epit.* 6.15b. Cf. Fowler 2013: 159, 314, 326, 340–2, 386, 590–2.

[20] Philoktetes returned home from Troy to Meliboia, but left owing to *stasis*, and founded Krimisa, Chone, and Petelia (Strabo 6.1.3, citing Apollodoros of Athens *FGrHist* 244 F 167; Tzetz. on Lyk. *Alex.* 911 citing Euphorion fr. 209 Lightfoot; Solin. 2.10; Arist. *mir. ausc.* 107 adds Makalla near Kroton). Epeios, returning home with Nestor, became separated from him and founded Metapontion and Lagaria (Lyk. *Alex.* 930, Arist. *mir. aus.* 108, Strabo 5.2.5, 6.1.14, 6.1.15, Vell. Pat. 1.1, Solin. 2.10, Justin 20.2.1). On these traditions see Hornblower on Lyk. *Alex.* 911–29, 930–50, 948, and Genovese, this volume. Nestor's men were also said to have founded Pisa, much

this ethnicity in the Archaic period to distinguish themselves either from nearby Ionians in Siris and/or with the Dorians of Taras with whom they were in conflict.[21] If this is correct, the implication is that, when a given group wished *not* to be Dorian (or Ionian), claiming to be Achaian was an excellent option, since the line between the pre- and post-Trojan ethne was firm.[22] At the same time, the belief that the Achaioi lived on, if in somewhat altered aspect, in places like the north Peloponnese, allowed those who claimed the etiquette also to claim Hellenic standing. Achaios was, after all, brother of Ion, son of Xouthos son of Hellen.

Another hero who went west after the War was Diomedes, who has associations with a remarkable number of sites in the Adriatic and Italy, especially in Daunia. The mythological explanation for his departure was that his wife, like Klytaimestra, conspired against him with a lover, but that Diomedes, unlike Agamemnon, escaped before being murdered.[23] It is striking that most of the places with which Diomedes is associated, and all of those named in the earliest sources, were not settled by Greeks. In other words he left no post-Trojan, Hellenic progeny. The belief that he became a god (Ibyk. *PMGF* 294, Pi. *N.* 10.7) may suggest that he had been taken out of the normal frame of reference for these matters in some quarters, but this tradition was not universal. Odysseus, too, for

farther north: Strabo 5.2.5, Serv. on V. *Aen.* 10.179 (who names Epeios). Just. 20.1.11 names only 'Greeks'. Pliny *HN* 3.50 and Solin. 2.7, who credit 'Pelopids', should not be cited here; as the Servius passage shows, that is a competing foundation legend for the city. Servius also tells the tale of the women burning the ships, which compelled the company to settle, in connection with Epeios and Pisa; Strabo (6.1.12) uses the same myth to explain the etymology of the river Neaithos (or Nauaithos, Lyk. 921) near Kroton, but specifies only 'Achaians'. It is a roving anecdote, variously located (Fowler 2013: 567 n. 150), but Epeios clearly belongs in the south. Cf. Scheer, below, p. 132.

[21] Ionians: Hall 2002: 58–65; Dorians: Morgan and Hall 1996; Malkin 1998a: 211.

[22] Kleomenes' famous answer to the priestess on the Acropolis denying him as a Dorian entry to the temple ('woman, I am not Dorian but Achaian'; Hdt. 5.72) assumes the same hard distinction. It is Kleomenes' Heraklid status that allowed him to claim to be Achaian (in the old, Homeric sense), but because 'Heraklid' was not an ethnonym, whereas 'Achaian' was, the statement took the form it did. His claim was rejected by the god; we may infer either that 'Heraklid' was not identical with 'Achaian', and/or that his attempt to distinguish 'Heraklid' from 'Dorian' was unconvincing. Ethnicity is elastic and one can claim different ethnicities according to need and context. I do not believe that this passage implies that the kings of Sparta were Heraklid and the other Spartans were not (Fowler 2013: 336).

[23] Mimn. fr. 22 West; Ibykos *PMGF* 294; Lyk. *Alex.* 592–632, 1056–66. See Hornblower *ad locc.*; Gantz 1993: 699–700; Malkin 1998a: ch. 8; Parker 2011: 245.

all his wanderings was not claimed as a founder by any overseas Greeks; but he was free to engender Latins and Etruscans (Hes. *Th.* 1011–16). Back home, too, the lack of continuity is clear. On Ithaka he was revered, but no one there claimed to be descended from him, so far as we know.[24] He was ancestor of the Thesprotian royal house (*Telegony* arg. (2) West), and various sources report other, post-*Odyssey* adventures in the regions opposite Ithaka and Kerkyra; Apollodoros, *Epit.* 7.40, reports a son by the daughter of Thoas, king of Aitolia.[25] Aitolians, Akarnanians, Epeirots, Thesprotians: all these people had difficulty persuading the Greeks that they were fully Hellenic.[26] Molossians, another group of dubious Hellenic standing, claimed Neoptolemos as the ancestor of their royalty. It was the best they could do; a descendant of Hellen was not possible. The inference is reversible: a returnee from Troy cannot found a Hellenic tribe. Neoptolemos' marriage to Hermione daughter of Menelaos was childless (Pherekydes fr. 64a, E. *Andr.* 32–3). Orestes and Hermione did have a son Teisamenos, who was buried at Sparta (Paus. 7.1.8); but there the line ends, since the Herakleidai/Dorians had by then arrived. If there ever were further descendants, the record was expunged.

After this general analysis of the myths of ethnicity and migration, let us turn to the heroes themselves, and the evidence of the epics. The *Catalogue of Ships* is often held to be a relic from an earlier stage of the epic tradition than that represented by the *Iliad* in its final form.[27] I side with those who think it does not go back very far—certainly not to the Mycenaean period—but, in theory, it could go back to a time before the birth of the Hellenic ethnos and the *Nostoi* as we know them. In other words, in an earlier epic, some of these heroes might have returned home and had large, ethnos-founding (or at least clan-founding) families. If so, the memory of it has been all but erased. Of the forty-six Greeks named by Homer in the *Catalogue*, one is already dead (Protesilaos), ten are killed in the *Iliad*, seven were killed at Troy after the *Iliad*, three more died on the way home, twelve emigrated elsewhere, one made it home only to be killed (Agamemnon), four

[24] Malkin 1998a: 25, 68, 101, 107. [25] Gantz 1993: 710–13 for the stories.

[26] See e.g. Malkin 1998a: 26–7, 142–5 (his remarks at 145 are particularly pertinent to the thesis of this chapter); Hall 2002: 170.

[27] For recent overviews of scholarship on this problem see Brügger et al. 2010: 150–3; West 2011d: 112; Dickinson 2011, 2017.

made it home but moved on again (Odysseus, Philoktetes, Idomeneus, and Diomedes), and the fate of one is unknown.[28] Only seven returned safely. Let us consider these.

We know of no role for Leitos (Appendix no. 2) in the *Posthomerica*; the report that he made it home safely goes back no further than Pausanias (9.4.3, 9.39.3). About Epistrophos (no. 9) there are competing traditions. The one that says he got home safely is again no earlier than Pausanias (10.36.10). The tradition that made him emigrate, or his people emigrate (which implies he has died at Troy), goes back to Lykophron.[29] We know next to nothing of Eumelos (no. 37) son of Admetos; at *Od.* 4.797–8 he is said to be Penelope's brother-in-law, and the language there suggests that he is back home living in Phthia. That is all we know. Idomeneus and Meriones (nos 28, 29) returned home safely to Krete according to Nestor (*Od.* 3.191), but Lykophron (*Alex.* 424–38, 1214–25) has Idomeneus leave Krete again under difficult circumstances, and die at Kolophon.[30] As his scholia show, Lykophron often draws upon Archaic poetry and (what comes to the same thing) early mythography. Meriones stopped at Rhodes and made a dedication according to the Lindian Chronicle (*BNJ* 532 F 2 xiii); he made it home safely to Knossos, where he was buried (Diod. Sic. 5.79.4), but we hear of no progeny.[31]

That leaves Menelaos (no. 18), Nestor (no. 19), and Polyxeinos (no. 24), who all made it home and had offspring. Polyxeinos returned to Elis (Paus. 5.3.4), and in the *Telegony* received a visit from Odysseus (arg. (1) West). Pausanias reports a son Amphimachos; he also tells us (5.4.1–4) that the Aitolian Oxylos, guide for the invading Herakleidai, ousted one Dios from the kingship. This Dios is in all likelihood a descendant of Amphimachos; thus the link to Troy was broken. Regarding Nestor and Menelaos the *Odyssey* paints an idyllic picture of their post-return lives. As Danek has observed, the *Odyssey* suggests a version of history quite at odds with other traditions.[32]

[28] See the chart in the Appendix.

[29] *Alex.* 1067–74: his people founded Temesa in Italy (the scholia say he founded it). See Hornblower *ad loc.*

[30] For the sources on Idomeneus' fate see Hornblower on Lyk. *locc. citt.* and Gantz 1993: 697–8.

[31] Diodorus (4.79.6) and Plutarch (*Marc.* 20.3) amazingly record a visit to Sicily, and a dedication at Engyon. Diodorus' language implies that Meriones and his people stayed there (a not untypical contradiction with his account in 5.79).

[32] Danek 2015.

Nestor also reports that Diomedes (3.181) and Philoktetes (3.190) got home safely. He says nothing about their subsequent departures, as he was silent about Idomeneus. Nestor's enormous family seems set to rule Pylos forever, but within two generations they were ousted by the Herakleidai. His son Thrasymedes (Appendix no. 56) also returned from Troy, as we learn from *Od.* 3, and Antilochos left sons behind, as we learn from Pausanias (2.18.8). Pausanias also tells us that the rout was complete: all the grandsons had to leave.[33] We meet Menelaos celebrating the marriage of Hermione and Neoptolemos (*Od.* 4.1–9); the sad sequel is suppressed. Homer does say that Menelaos had no legitimate son, which hints at the end of the family line, but in general the *Odyssey* wants at this point in the story to suggest a world at peace with itself upon the conclusion of successful homecomings, except for Agamemnon of course, whose dreadful death stands as a warning.

In sum, discounting Epistrophos, who, as we have seen, in the oldest tradition did not get home, of the remaining six, two are virtual ciphers (Leitos and Eumelos) and play no further role (and Leitos' return could be a later fiction); Meriones the Kretan has a profile as a fighter in the *Iliad,* but no further history in Krete so far as we know (though about Krete we are very poorly informed). The lines of the three major heroes who return home, Polyxeinos, Menelaos, and Nestor, run into the sand. It is not coincidental that they are from the Peloponnese, for this was the last stage of the story of the mainland ethnogenesis. Thus, if the return of these heroes, two of whom are major players in the saga, looks at first like a big exception to the rule, it actually turns out to confirm it. The fit is perfect, and the clearing-out of the Trojan generation is complete. Any opportunities that might have arisen to link the heroes of Troy to the ethnic map of post-Trojan Greece have not been taken.[34]

The same pattern emerges if one examines the fate of numerous Greeks mentioned elsewhere in the *Iliad* but not in the *Catalogue of Ships* (Appendix 2). The overwhelming majority are invented by Homer

[33] He also says that they all went to Athens *except* Peisistratos, the man from whom the Athenian Peisistratidai claimed descent (Hdt. 5.65.3; Davies, *APF* no. 11793); from which anti-Peisistratid source did Pausanias get this?

[34] Nestor's name has sometimes been linked to *νόστος* (but whether intransitive, 'the Returner', or transitive, 'He who brings others safe home', is disputed; a link with *νόος* has also been favoured, *sc.* denoting the wise advisor). Whatever the etymology, his character as the great survivor perhaps made it inevitable that he would survive Troy, too. See Kanavou 2015: 63–7.

in order to be killed. Of the eleven who have real stories, one (Patroklos) was also killed at Troy, four more were killed at Troy after the events of the *Iliad*,[35] Phoinix died on the way home,[36] and three others emigrated to other places. Neoptolemos returns home and, in one tradition, briefly regains his father's kingdom, but then dies ignominiously in Delphi. As we have seen above, his descendants can do no better than rule in half-Greek Molossia. The fate of two is unknown. Only Thrasymedes returns safely, but his line is doomed, as already discussed.[37]

So the pattern holds for all the Greeks of the *Iliad*. Many of the characters were in Homer's tradition before him, but we can only guess at what their stories might have been then. By the time we get to know them, the situation is as described. It goes well back into the Archaic age, as is shown by many texts, foremost among them the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*. Stesichoros' *Nostoi* must have contained a wealth of information. The early mythographers also furnish evidence of Archaic mythology. To Pherekydes (fr. 143) we owe our knowledge of Ialmenos (no. 7): he led a party of Minyans to Pontos, and became ancestor of the Achaians there. Even if Pherekydes invented this story (which is unlikely), the invention presumes that Ialmenos could not go home to Aspledon. To pick out one detail in another text, Ibykos, in his ode for Polykrates (*PMGF* 282), makes reference to the young and beautiful Kyanippos of Argos; the tradition is that he was too young at the start of the war to lead the Argives, so Diomedes stepped in (Paus. 2.30.10). Diomedes, in other words, is marked out as an interloper, in spite of his Argive maternal grandfather; he himself was Aitolian. Like the Athenians, the Argives regarded the Trojan War as an interruption in their otherwise continuous history. So Diomedes had to be got rid of so that the Herakleidai could resume their rightful place. The Herakleidai, apparently the end point, are in fact the starting point of the whole construct. It was certainly possible, had people wanted to, to invent stories that would allow Diomedes and any number of others somehow to stay put. But once the Herakleidai arrived, they had to go.

[35] For Automedon we have only the Aristotelian *Peplos*' (38) word for it.

[36] Buried at Eion on the Strymon: *Nostoi* arg. 4c; Apollod. *Epit.* 6.12; Lyk. *Alex.* 417–23.

[37] Amphilochos son or grandson of Amphiaraos is not mentioned in Homer but figured in the Posthomerica (Apollod. *Epit.* 6.19). After the war he wandered with Kalchas ([Hes.] *Melampodia* frr. 214–15 Most = 278–9 M/W) and was killed by Apollo at Soloi; Hdt. 3.91, 7.91 makes him a founding hero in Syria; according Lyk. *Alex.* 439–46 (where see Hornblower) he died at Mallos after a brief return to Argos.

The detail and consistency of the picture are remarkable. The two traditions, the ethnogenesis and the *Nostoi*, should be read together, with the first of these determining the general shape of the second. The relationship cannot be the other way around. The originators of the Hellenic stemma, the Thessalians, did not fight at Troy. If the epic and *nostoi* traditions had been primary data in the Greek homeland and still a work in progress at the time that the Hellenic genealogy was created, the Thessalians, and other proto-Hellenes, would have found some way to bring the two into closer harmony. We know, however, that the epic tradition reached its final form in Ionia during the eighth century. As Homer's text shows, the bards knew about Hellenes, Dorians, Ionians, and Aiolians. They must have learned of these new myths at interregional gatherings in the eighth and seventh centuries; they would have been impressed by the strength and apparent unalterability of these mainland beliefs. In deciding what happened to all of the heroes after the War, therefore, they could not, as they might have done before, send them home to pick up where they left off. To repeat, if these groups had been in close contact with each other during the long centuries after the fall of Mykenai, this bifurcated, disharmonious, chronologically self-contradictory picture would be a most surprising result. Moreover, we know that both the myth of Hellenic ethnogenesis and the final, consolidating phase of the Ionic epic tradition happened at roughly the same time, and over a relatively short period of time. When they came together, the first could not be changed; the second, therefore, had to fit in around it.

The *nostoi* tradition continued to evolve during the Archaic and Classical periods only in its details; the general outline did not change. We need to account for the fixity following this period of rapid development. The answer should be related to the emergence of new political orders centred around the *polis*. Each *polis* was a circumscribed, unitary, and predominantly oral environment, in most cases a face-to-face society. The dynamics of fluid, oral tradition worked unchecked within them. Local traditions sprang up or evolved in manifold ways. At Athens, for instance, we can trace to an extent the way that the aetiology of the Panathenaia changed to accommodate new political circumstances.[38] Between *poleis*, however, the situation was different. Though there was an active dialogue

[38] Shear 2001; Parker 1996: 89–92; 2005: ch. 12.

at all stages of Greek history between *polis* and Panhellenic communities, the authority of the individual *poleis* prevented wholesale revision of the overall framework. At the same time, and not unrelated to the sophisticated condition of Panhellenic culture, the texts of the poems themselves became fixed.[39] Even in Athens, a crucial node in the transmission of the text, Attic influence extended only to minutiae; at the level of content, any meddling would be (and still is) transparent (*Il.* 2.546–56, where interpolation of some or all of these lines is generally agreed). A radical revision that might have created a more organically integrated role for Athenians at Troy was not possible.

Neither was it desirable. Even if, say, Athens had wanted to rewrite Panhellenic history, other *poleis* would have resisted. Arguments about details were always possible, but for the most part the *poleis* acquiesced in, and were content with, the new order, which after all they had a role in creating. Ethnicity was another brake on rapid evolution; witness the inability, over centuries, of those groups such as Macedonia who had not been part of the original Hellenic ethnogenesis to secure an uncontested place within it. Dorian, Ionian, and Aiolian cities did not easily change their stripes, or admit newcomers to the club.

The primacy of the *polis* is apparent also in the character of aristocratic genealogies. A blue bloodline goes back to the beginning: but which beginning? It is remarkable how few of those we know go back to Trojan or Theban heroes. Instead, they spring from primeval local and autochthonous figures. In Athens, the clans claimed descent from heroes such as Kodros, Eteoboutades, Kephalos, and the like. An apparent link to Troy by way of Pylos turned out not to be one, as we saw.[40] Only the Philaidai seem to offer a firm connection through Aias. Here, however, the sixth-century conflict with Megara

[39] See most recently Currie 2016: 12–22 for powerful arguments in favour of early fixity.

[40] Above, p. 47. For the Attic *genē* (clans) see Parker 1996: 284–327. In addition to Peisistratos, the eponyms of the Paionidai and Alkmeonidai were sons of Neleus, but Pausanias (2.18.8) is the only source for this claim; he is also the only source for the existence of a genos Paionidai (cf. Thomas 1989: 146). The Euneidai were supposedly descended from Euneos son of Jason, a quite unusual link, perhaps to do with the tradition that Euneus was a musician taught by Orpheus and the putative musical activities of the clan (Parker 1996: 297–8).

over ownership of Salamis comes to the fore. It is striking that Pherekydes (fr. 60) claimed that Telamon was not the son of Aiakos but son of the Athenian Aktaios and Glauke, a Megarian princess. Moreover, it is possible that he already propagated the view that Theseus, not Telamon, was the father of Aias.[41] The commonly (outside Athens) accepted Aiakid status of these heroes clearly had undesirable political implications.

An interesting corroboration of this reluctance of aristocratic clans to claim descent from Trojan or Theban heroes emerges from the practice of hero-worship in cult, where Trojan and Theban heroes *were* often honoured. The rise of these cults in late Geometric Greece seems from the start to have been a community affair. If it was the elite who took the initiative, it was nevertheless done on behalf of the *polis*, to boost its international standing and to enhance the elite's own bids for esteem.[42] The cults were not instituted for their own ancestors but for heroes whose power and glory were felt to have settled on the city, promoting its welfare and renown. The city was not asserting that these heroes had given them their identity; the myths spoke of incidental favours conferred, beneficial visits, and the like. Isolated reports (and they are isolated) of individuals claiming specific Trojan-era, non-native ancestors come as a genuine surprise. Hellanikos (fr. 156 *EGM*, *BNJ* 4 F 170) tells us that the orator Andokides was descended from Odysseus, a belief perhaps originating in Athenian interests in Kephallonia and environs. Alkibiades was descended from Eurysakes (Plato, *Alkib.* I 121a); but this connection might be gentilicial rather than personal, if the conjecture is right that he was one of the Salaminioi (and, as we have seen, Eurysakes might have counted as native Athenian, not Aiakid).[43] I can find no other examples from Athens.

In Sparta, Argeie, mother of the first Spartan kings Prokles and Eurysthenes, was great-granddaughter of the Epigonos Thersandros, son of Polyneikes; her brother Theras was the oikist of Thera

[41] Fowler 2013: 478–9. The Salaminioi's name trumpets their stake to the island, but we do not know if they claimed descent from Eurysakes, as W.S. Ferguson first rather enticingly suggested (cf. Lambert 1997: 97).

[42] See the recent survey of Mazarakis Ainian 2017; for Attic heroes, Kearns 1989. The catalogue in her Appendix 1 lists a substantial number of non-Attic heroes.

[43] Davies, *APF*: 12; Parker 1996: 323 n. 94. On family traditions generally see Thomas 1989: chs 2–3.

(Hdt. 4.147, 6.52.2). Here at last there seems to be a solid link to the Theban era, involving the Spartan royal houses no less. But closer inspection obliges qualification. The Aigeidai clan, found at Sparta and Thera, and perhaps also at Kyrene, is the key to this construction. As we see from Pindar, *P.* 5.75, the Theban and Spartan aristocracies cherished the idea of mutual links through the foundation of Thera, in which Minyans hailing from Thebes took part (Hdt. 4.145–6). The eponym Aigeus was grandson of the oikist, so that, mythologically speaking, the affiliation did not exist before the emigration. According to Pausanias (3.15.8), Aigeus' heroon at Sparta was dedicated by his grandsons. Although this is a connection that could, in theory, go back to the age of colonization, given all that we know about the retrospective amendment of genealogies in oral societies we would expect that this one was 'discovered' at some time in the late Archaic period when the Spartans and Thebans found it convenient to embrace it. In any case, the mythological date of the eponym and his maternal rather than paternal affiliation to the Epigonoi reveal that this is not the kind of organic link that would invalidate the picture we have developed.[44] It had no implications for the ethnicity of the Spartans.

Beneath the bewilderingly complex surface of Greek mythistorical traditions there is often a surprising simplicity. Basic impulses can determine the shape of dozens of stories, and the way they fit together. The poets who created and adapted them were remarkably sensitive to the political and cultural dynamics of *polis*, ethnos, and nation. The *Nostoi* tell a tale of total collapse, but they also tell of new beginnings. The chaos reflected in the stories had its origin in the radical reconfiguration of the Greek world in the late Geometric period, but, as often in aetiology, the end point was more important than the point of origin: these stories were told from the vantage point of a world that had achieved a new stability. Things may have looked very bad in 1100 BCE, but by 600 they were looking up again.

[44] On the Aigeidai see Malkin 1994a: 98–106; Corcella on Hdt. 4.149 *apud* Asheri, Lloyd, and Corcella 2007. Theron of Akragas, bolstering his Dorian credentials, claimed the same ancestry (Pi. *O.* 2.46). The Kleonymidai of Thebes, known only from Pindar, were Labdakidai by maternal descent (Pi. *I.* 3.17); the genealogy is of unknown antiquity, and interpretation can only be speculative.

APPENDIX: THE FATE OF RETURNING HEROES

1. Greek Heroes in the *Catalogue of Ships*

		Killed in the *Iliad*	Killed at Troy after *Iliad*	Killed while returning	Emigrated elsewhere	Returned safely home	Returned home, but killed	Returned home, but moved on	Fate unknown	Variant traditions
	Boiotians									
1[45]	Peneleos		x							
2	Leitos					x				
3	Arkesilaos	x								
4	Prothoenor	x								
5	Klonios	x								
	Minyans									
6	Askalaphos	x								
7	Ialmenos				x[46]					
	Phokians									
8	Schedios	x								x[47]
9	Epistrophos					x?				x[48]
	Lokrians									
10	Aias			x						

(*continued*)

[45] I have made much use of Kullmann 1960: 68–118, 124–37 (the numbering is his).

[46] To Pontos: Pherekydes fr. 143. The Aristotelian *Peplos* 19 says he was buried with Askalaphos in Boiotia (presumably he had brought his brother's body back). The *Peplos* (Arist. fr. 640 Rose) reports a great many other safe returns in defiance of the rest of the tradition; it is a wilful text.

[47] Killed by Hektor at *Il.* 17.306, but Strabo 9.3.17 reports a tomb in Daphnous in Phokis. Paus. 10.36.10 says Epistrophos (no. 9) made it home and was buried there; his brother's bones were brought back and buried alongside him. Schol. Lyk. *Alex.* 1067 says he and Epistrophos founded Temesa in Italy; Lykophron himself says their people did. Tzetz. *ad loc*. says both were killed at Troy, which is a plausible inference from Lykophron.

[48] See previous note.

1. Continued

		Killed in the *Iliad*	Killed at Troy after *Iliad*	Killed while returning	Emigrated elsewhere	Returned safely home	Returned home, but killed	Returned home, but moved on	Fate unknown	Variant traditions
	Euboians									
11	Elephenor	x								
	Athenians									
12	Menestheus		x							x[49]
	Salaminians									
13	Aias		x							
	Argives									
14	Diomedes							x		
15	Sthenelos			x[50]						
16	Euryalos								x	x[51]
	Mykenaians									
17	Agamemnon						x			
	Lakedaimonians									
18	Menelaos					x				
	Pylians									
19	Nestor					x				
	Arkadians									
20	Agapenor				x[52]					

[49] Plutarch (*Thes.* 35.8, cf. Paus. 1.17.6) says he died at Troy; in other traditions he became king at Melos (Apollod. *Epit.* 6.15b) or founded Elaia in Aiolia (Strabo 13.3.5). Arist. *Pepl.* 34 (cf. Dict. Cret. 6.4) says he died at home in Athens. He turns up also in Bruttium where he founded Skylletion according to Strabo 6.1.10.

[50] Died at Kolophon, travelling with Kalchas (Lyk. *Alex.* 424–38).

[51] The unreliable Arist. *Pepl.* 35 reports his grave in Argos, implying a safe homecoming.

[52] To Cyprus: Lyk. *Alex.* 479–93.

	Epeians									
21	Amphimachos	x								
22	Thalpios		x							
23	Diores	x								
24	Polyxeinos						x			
	Doulichians									
25	Meges			x[53]						
	Kephallonians									
26	Odysseus							x		
	Aitolians									
27	Thoas				x[54]					
	Kretans									
28	Idomeneus							x		x[55]
29	Meriones						x			
	Rhodians									
30	Tlepolemos	x								
	Symians									
31	Nireus				x[56]					
	Koans									
32	Pheidippos				x[57]					
33	Antiphos				x					
	Myrmidons									
34	Achilles		x							
	Phylakians									
35	Protesilaos					(killed before the *Iliad*)				
36	Podarkes		x							

(*continued*)

[53] Arist. *Pepl.* 25 (died at sea); conjectured in Apollod. *Epit.* 6.15a (died in the great storm at Cape Kaphereus).
[54] To Illyria: Lyk. *Alex.* 1011–26. [55] Above, n. 30.
[56] To Illyria: Lyk. *Alex.* 1011–26. Quint. Smyrn. 6.372 says he was killed by Eurypylos at Troy. [57] For both Koans see above p. 49.

1. Continued

		Killed in the *Iliad*	Killed at Troy after *Iliad*	Killed while returning	Emigrated elsewhere	Returned safely home	Returned home, but killed	Returned home, but moved on	Fate unknown	Variant traditions
	Pheraians									
37	Eumelos					x				
	Methonians									
38	Philoktetes							x		x[58]
39	Medon	x								
	Trikkans									
40	Podaleirios				x					x[59]
41	Machaon		x							
	Ormenians									
42	Eurypylos				x[60]					
	Argissans									
43	Polypoites				x					x[61]
44	Leonteus				x					x[62]
	Ainianes									
45	Gouneus				x[63]					
	Magnetes									
46	Prothoos				x[64]					
	TOTALS	10	7	3	12	7	1	4	1	

[58] Nestor says he got home safely (*Od.* 3.190), but other traditions send him to South Italy.

[59] One of Kalchas' wandering contingent, variously in Daunia, Kolophon, Karia: Lyk. *Alex.* 1047–66, Apollod. *Epit.* 6.2, 6.18, schol. Lyk. 427, 980, 1047, Paus. 3.26.10, Strabo 6.3.9, Steph. Byz. s.v. Σύρνα. See Hornblower on Lyk. *Alex.* 1048. Arist. *Pepl.* 20, wayward as ever, says there was a cenotaph of him and Machaon at Trikke and that both had become gods (which presumably implies a safe homecoming).

[60] To Libya with Gouneus and Prothoos: Lyk. *Alex.* 895–902 and schol. on 899 (Tzetzes on 902 = Apollod. *Epit.* 6.15a says Prothoos died in the storm at Kaphereus; cf. Arist. *Pepl.* 28). Arist. *Pepl.* 22 claims he was buried at his home in Ormenion.

[61] Polypoites and Leonteus were also with Kalchas at Kolophon (*Nostoi* Arg, 2 West; Apollod. *Epit.* 6.2). Tzetzes on Lyk. *Alex.* 980, 1047 says they got home safely; Eust. *Il.* p. 334.28 says they founded Aspendos in Pamphylia; Arist. *Pepl.* 27 says that Polypoites and Leonteus were buried in 'the land of the Medes'.

[62] See n. 61. [63] See n. 60. [64] See n. 60.

2. Greek Heroes in the *Iliad* but not mentioned in the *Catalogue of the Ships*

		Killed in the *Iliad*	Killed at Troy after *Iliad*	Killed while returning	Emigrated elsewhere	Returned safely home	Returned home, but killed	Returned home, but moved on	Fate unknown	Variant traditions
47	Thersites[65]		x							
48	Antilochos		x							
59	Teukros				x[66]					
50	Patroklos	x								
51	Kalchas				x					x[67]
52	Epeios				x[68]					
53	Phoinix		x							
54	Alkimedon								x	
55	Automedon		x[69]							
56	Thrasymedes					x[70]				
57	Lykomedes								x	

[65] Excluded are 1) heralds, charioteers, attendants, and the like; 2) characters who appear in lists of names and who are otherwise unknown (but who do not die in the *Iliad*); 3) the forty warriors who are not known from elsewhere than the *Iliad* and who are killed within it. We may assume the last two groups and most of the first were invented by Homer. For the names see Kullmann 1960: 124–9.

[66] Founded Salamis in Cyprus: e.g. Pi. *N.* 4.46, A. *Pers.* 895.

[67] Usually said to have died at Klaros, but also claimed for Pamphylia, Cilicia, and South Italy; Fowler 2013: 546–7.

[68] Lagaria in South Italy: above, n. 20. [69] Buried at Troy according to Arist. *Pepl.* 38. [70] Son of Nestor: *Od.* 3.39, 414, 442, 448.

3

Odysseus' Eclectic Itinerary

Stephanie West

Leaving his boat and its sea-wearied sails
Odysseus returned, filled with space and time.

Mandelstam, *Tristia* 92

The poet establishes *nostos* as the keynote of the first half of the *Odyssey* in the prooemium (1.1–10). The translation of this term calls for care. It basically indicates a successful journey, a journey to a desired goal.[1] Though 'return' is often attractive, the word is not limited to this sense. 'The *nostos* of the Achaians'[2] encapsulates the aftermath of the Trojan War, and is presented as a topic of keen interest, the subject of Phemios' song as he entertains the company in Odysseus' hall (1.326–7) and, more surprisingly, among the topics on which Aiolos, controller of the winds by divine appointment (10.20–2), interrogates Odysseus (10.14–15).

There is no evidence that before the poet of the *Odyssey* got to work there was thought to be anything remarkable about Odysseus' journey home from Troy. His curious self-designation as 'father of Telemachos' (*Il.* 2.260; 4.354) might imply the development of a story about the part played by his son in supporting Odysseus in re-establishing his position, but this cannot be more than speculation.[3]

[1] See further *LfgrE s.v.*, Bonifazi 2009. Thus those Greeks who did not get home but survived to settle elsewhere failed in their *nostos.* The name Nestor is to be connected with the same root, though it is not clear whether it should be interpreted as 'the one who returns' or 'the rescuer, the one who brings others home'.

[2] See above, Introduction, p. 8.

[3] It might suggest a version of the story in which Telemachos was born after Odysseus had left for Troy; in that case Odysseus affirms his faith in Penelope's

Though we may be tempted to see a reference to his sufferings on the way home in his distinctive epithet *polutlas* (*Il.*8.97; 9.676; 10.248; 23.729, 778), the conventional translation 'much enduring' may mislead, suggesting the uncomplaining stoicism of the British stiff upper lip. Rather, the epithet highlights the hero's hardihood and willingness to face unconventional challenges, even, if need be, humiliation (as we are reminded before we meet him, by Helen's reminiscence of his reconnaissance at Troy disguised as a beggar (*Od.* 4.242–64)). In developing Odysseus' post-war career from various sources, among them Argonautic poetry, folk tale (a convenient but potentially misleading term),[4] and reports of contemporary exploration, the poet does not appear to have been constrained by pre-existing tradition. Telemachos himself, acting as the poet's spokesman, testifies to the importance of innovation in poetry: 'men praise most highly the song which is the latest for the listeners.'[5] We shall do well to bear these lines in mind, as a corrective to over-emphasis on the dying traditions of heroic oral poetry in twentieth-century Yugoslavia.

In discussing any Homeric topic it is difficult to strike a satisfactory course between, on the one hand, so heavy an emphasis on tradition as to leave no room for individual creativity and, on the other, the suggestion of an imaginative freedom more appropriate to a modern novel. Archaic Greek literature developed at the interface between orality and literacy. Increasing familiarity with script must have brought appreciation of the advantages of an enduring record of the best work of poets trained in a wholly oral tradition. The production of such a text did not mean the development of a reading public. Poets would continue to envisage listeners, not readers. The issue is not whether the composer of the *Odyssey* was himself literate, but

fidelity without naming her, a clever way of praising her without violation of the principle which Thucydides (2. 45.2) attributes to Perikles, that a woman should aspire not to be talked about among men, on which see further Schaps 1977.

[4] The term serves a purpose when oral prose narrative is contrasted with verse or literary prose, but is liable to abuse because of the equivocation of 'folk' between 'peasantry' and a particular 'folk' or ethnic group. The protagonists are usually nonentities, their background a village where everyone knows everyone else and the arrival of a stranger sets going the narrative.

[5] *τὴν γὰρ ἀοιδὴν μάλλον ἐπικλείουσ' ἄνθρωποι,*
ἥ τις ἀκουόντεσσι νεωτάτη ἀμφιπέληται (1.351–2).

Translations of Homer are my own except where otherwise indicated. For the text of the *Odyssey* I have used M. L. West's Teubner edition (2017).

what the motivation might have been for the enormous labour and considerable expense on writing materials required to produce a text. I would like to think that pressure came from a pupil or pupils of an elderly singer, as increasing infirmity made it manifestly harder for him to perform personally. It is that elderly singer whom I see as the poet of the *Odyssey,* responsible for the grand design by which three major narratives were interwoven, the *Telemachy* (approximately what we know as books 1–4 with part of 15), Odysseus' homeward journey (5–12), and his homecoming (13–24).[6]

This structure forms the frame for many shorter narratives, themselves easily adaptable to independent presentation with minor adjustment at beginning and end—perhaps a reference to the occasion, thanks for the invitation, good wishes for the future, and so on. Odysseus himself, and the major heroes of the Trojan War, could be assumed to be familiar. The *Odyssey*'s sophisticated structure, along with its many inconsistencies, suggests that its composer had tried out its elements as narratives suitable for an evening's entertainment—surely the usual setting for performance—before he was persuaded of the advantages of a continuous composition, on a grand scale comparable to the *Iliad*, recorded in writing. Such a project would not have suggested itself until Greek script had been in use for some time.

My conception of the poet's pupils is guided by what is known about the training of young men in the traditional poetry of Central Asia (particularly Uzbek and Kazakh) associated with the hero Alpamysh, whose story has much in common with the latter part of the *Odyssey*; this has been made accessible by a scholar who is primarily a mediaevalist specializing in European Epic, Karl Reichl.[7] A long-standing belief that skill in traditional oral composition was simply incompatible with literacy has been shown to be simply false. The apprentice goes to live with his teacher, and helps about the house and farm while learning his craft. Much memorization must lie at the heart of such training, and will, as time goes by, become the basis of the pupil's own composition. Behind our texts of the *Odyssey* I imagine a young man consolidating what he had learnt by writing

[6] It is not clear when the division of the epic into what we call books was formalized. The ancient term is *rhapsōdia*, and the book divisions certainly correspond to natural breaks in the narrative, very often nightfall.

[7] See further Reichl 1992; 2001.

out what he thought he remembered, and from time to time checking with his master.[8] In principle, more than one trainee could thus be occupied simultaneously, perhaps each tackling a favourite episode, when weather conditions made outdoor work impossible. Many hands make light work, but too many cooks spoil the broth, and of course this scenario would be very liable to produce inconsistency—but that is a well-recognized feature of the *Odyssey*.

The production of such a text would not prevent further variation (though many scholars concerned with the epic's textualization seem confident that it did). The poet himself might have seen scope for improvement; the concept of a definitive edition would have made no sense. How quickly this text was disseminated we cannot tell, but we must avoid applying standards of publication and distribution appropriate only after the development of a book trade. A copy of the whole poem, extending over several rolls, would have been a rarity; some parts must have been more popular than others, and circulated in more copies. Our earliest manuscripts of Homer, the Ptolemaic papyri, show wide variation in wording and in the number of lines, though not in structure or substance; they offer no extra episodes. When texts of poetry were themselves a novelty, those who used them surely felt free to make 'improvements' in their own copies, rather as we annotate and supplement recipe books. We should not assume that within a few years of its creation the *Odyssey* became in some sense canonical, a set text. Whatever regulations controlled performance at the Panathenaia could not be enforced elsewhere, though Athenian pre-eminence in the fifth century is likely to have favoured the version used there. That this is an uncomfortably untidy view of the *Odyssey*'s early reception, its *Überlieferungsgeschichte*, I would be very ready to admit.

The theme of *nostos,* safe return home, is appropriately highlighted in the *Odyssey's* prooemium as the poet invokes the muse who sanctions the story (1.1–10):

> Tell, Muse, of the man of many shifts, who was driven off course many times after he sacked the holy citadel of Troy. Many were the people whose towns he saw and whose thinking he came to know, and many were his sufferings by sea as he sought to secure his own life and his

[8] My scenario is purely masculine. It seems safe to assume that mastery of the techniques appropriate to extended performance of heroic hexameter narrative was always a male monopoly.

> comrades' homecoming. But not even so did he save his company, eager as he was. For they perished through their own recklessness, fools, who devoured the cattle of Hyperion the Sun; and he took from them the day of return. From some point onwards in this story, goddess, daughter of Zeus, tell us too.[9]

Despite the care bestowed on its composition this does not fit our *Odyssey* very well. It covers only a third of the epic, books 5–12, not very accurately, and gives disproportionate emphasis to a single incident, the slaughter and consumption of the cattle of Helios on Thrinakia (12.339–98). The stress laid on the sacrilegious gluttony of the small group of Odysseus' company who had survived thus far anticipates the accusation that he fell far short of a leader's duty of care for his men (cf. 24.426–8),[10] but eleven shiploads had perished in the Laistrygonian harbour of Telepylos through no fault of their own (10.118–24), not to mention the victims of Polyphemos and Skylla. Nor is the charge against his comrades altogther supported by Odysseus' own account of the episode, where the men are driven to their sacrilegious act in desperation, as virtually the only alternative to starvation.[11] Moreover, though the prominence given to the Phaiakians may prevent us noticing the oddity, Odysseus' wanderings do not take him much among civilized communities, *astea anthrōpōn,* cities of men, but far from human society. His encounters with Aiolos, the Laistrygonians, Kirke, the Sirens, Skylla and Charybdis, and most crucially Polyphemos, (whose major role in Odysseus'

[9] *Ἄνδρά μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλά*
πλάγχθη, ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἔπερσεν·
πολλῶν δ'ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω,
πολλὰ δ'ὅ γ'ἐν πόντωι πάθεν ἄλγεα ὃν κατὰ θυμόν
ἀρνύμενος ἥν τε ψυχὴν καὶ νόστον ἑταίρων.
ἀλλ'οὐδ' ὣς ἑτάρους ἐρρύσατο, ἱέμενός περ·
αὐτῶν γὰρ σφετέρηισιν ἀτασθαλίηισιν ὄλοντο,
νήπιοι, οἳ κατὰ βοῦς Ὑπερίονος Ἠελίοιο
ἤσθιον· αὐτὰρ ὃ τοῖσιν ἀφείλετο νόστιμον ἦμαρ.
τῶν ἁμόθεν γε, θεά, θύγατερ Διός, εἰπὲ καὶ ἡμῖν.

[10] On Odysseus' failure to meet the standards expected of an officer in a modern army see Shay 2002.

[11] This is how their ringleader Eurylochos sees it (12.341–2) when they are reduced to catching fish and birds (330–2, cf. the similar predicament of Menelaos' company (4.368–9)); this expedient is dismissed rather as we might react to the suggestion of eating rats or slugs. The Homeric heroes' avoidance of fish is an old problem, to which Plato (*Rep.*404bc) draws attention. See further Wilkins 2011.

vicissitudes is brought to our attention early, by Zeus himself (1.68–75)) go unmentioned. It would be unreasonable to ask for a precis of the whole poem, but the choice of detail is strange. Contrast Horace's selection (*Ars P.* 143–5) of the Laistrygonian ruler Antiphates, Polyphemos, Skylla and Charybdis to represent the *Odyssey*'s 'brilliant fantasies' (*speciosa miracula)*,[12] and indeed Odysseus' encounter with Polyphemos is what most people think of first when the *Odyssey* is mentioned.[13]

It is a natural conjecture that this opening was devised for a poem in which Odysseus' homeward journey was related in a more realistic form. The outlines of such a *nostos* may be traced in the cover stories which he tells when he has to devise some account of himself on his arrival back in Ithaca.[14] Waking on the shore, unable to recognize his surroundings, and concerned about his valuable luggage, he starts with a rapid improvisation designed to satisfy the curiosity of a young shepherd of noble appearance (13.256–86). He presents himself as a Kretan nobleman, who had left home on a Phoenician ship after killing a son of Idomeneus, feeling aggrieved because he had not been awarded a fair share of Trojan booty. A subtle threat may be detected: Odysseus presents himself as one who has few scruples in protecting his interests. Kretan identity remains a constant in his alias.[15]

The young shepherd reveals herself as Athena and congratulates him on his tale (282–98). The goddess has demonstrated her own skill in devising a plausible alias in book 1, when she introduced herself to Telemachos as the Taphian prince Mentes, and described his first encounter with Odysseus, before the Trojan War, when the hero was already an old friend of his father Anchialos (180–212; 255–64). Odysseus' wide circle of friends in foreign parts is an important element in his characterization. He is adaptable, has no difficulty in

[12] *Antiphaten Scyllamque et cum Cyclope Charybdin.*

[13] To the substantial bibliography generated by the prooemium, the perceptive and stimulating study of Harden and Kelly (2013) is a valuable addition, offering a more liberal treatment than mine.

[14] Sherratt 1996 offers a very insightful discussion, particularly emphasizing the way in which 'each of Odysseus' Cretan stories is carefully tailored to the individual to whom he tells it.' See also Burkert 2001b; S. West 2003; Tsagalis 2012.

[15] A different story is offered for his meeting with Laertes (24.265–314); but I regard what follows 23.299 as a later addition; see further West 1989. I doubt if the proverbial *Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται*, 'Kretans are always liars,' quoted in the New Testament (*Titus* 1.12) and attributed to Epimenides, is relevant.

making himself agreeable to strangers, and has benefited from the stimulus of a wide range of contacts.[16]

At leisure with Eumaios the faithful swineherd, Odysseus elaborates his story (14.191–359), though he does not give his name. The episode well illustrates the importance of storytelling (whether the story is basically true or essentially fiction) in scenes of hospitality. He vividly conveys the background of a wild environment of opportunism and exploration, when trading and raiding were not sharply distinguished and there were chances of unexpected advancement for the adventurous. Egypt now becomes important in his tale.

He presents himself as the son, by a concubine, of a wealthy nobleman, Kastor, by whom he was treated as generously as his half-brothers; but after his father's death he was left to fend for himself. He gained considerable military experience before joining Idomeneus to serve in the Trojan War. Back in Krete he tired of home life after a month, and sailed for Egypt with a group of comrades and nine ships. But when they reached Egypt he lost control of his band, who went raiding without appropriate precautions, and retaliation rapidly followed. He threw himself on the ruler's mercy (Greek conventions of supplication are assumed to be valid also in Egypt) and stayed for seven years (note the period corresponding to Odysseus' enforced holiday with Kalypso), and grew very wealthy. (We may be reminded of Herodotus' account (2.152) of the success of the Ionian-Karian force who came to Egypt to raid, *kata lēiēn*, and helped Psammetichos to gain control of the country in 664 BCE.) But then he was persuaded to leave with a Phoenician merchant, with whom he stayed for a year before joining him on a trading voyage to Libya. Out in the open sea beyond Krete[17] they ran into a storm; the ship was shattered by lightning, all the others on board were drowned, but he managed to save himself by clinging to the mast until nine days later he reached the coast of Thesprotia. The king's son found him on the shore, and took him home, where he was treated most hospitably. (We are reminded of Odysseus' experiences on the shore of Scheria.) There he heard news of Odysseus, who had left his accumulated treasure, while he went to

[16] Cf. Solon F 23: 'Happy the man who has his sons, his hounds, his horses, and a friend from foreign parts (*ξένος ἀλλοδαπός*)' (trans. M. L. West). See further Finley 1979: 99–103; Thalmann 2011.

[17] The geographical indications are confusing.

consult the oracle at Dodona for advice on managing his return to Ithaca. The king arranged for our hero a passage with Thesprotians bound for Doulichion. But once they were well out to sea he was no longer a respected passenger but a captive who could expect to be sold into slavery. When they reached Ithaka the sailors left him tied up on board, but while they feasted he managed to escape, and made his way to Eumaios' dwelling. Eumaios is most sympathetic, but refuses to believe in Odysseus' imminent arrival, having been disappointed after he trusted an Aitolian traveller's claim to have seen Odysseus with Idomeneus in Krete, repairing his ships (14.379–85).

A rather abbreviated version of this tale is then offered to Antinoos, the suitors' ringleader (17.419–45). As Eumaios is within earshot significant variation is impossible, though the raid on Egypt now ends disastrously, and leads to Odysseus' enslavement and transfer to the Cypriot prince Dmetor, son of Iasos, a tantalizing detail.

The poet clearly relished the construction of narratives of travel and adventure, and Odysseus offers a significantly different tale to Penelope (19. 172–202; 221–48; 268–307). He gives a concise, and intriguing, ethnography of Krete; it is remarkable how little this corresponds to the Kretan entry in the *Catalogue of Ships* (*Il.* 2.645–52). We can think of many reasons why the poet might have been fascinated by the island—its distinctive heritage, its strange history and mythology, its role as a stepping stone to Near Eastern cultures and to North Africa, its proliferation of small independent communities—but it is not easy to say which, if any, among these factors account for its prominence in the *Odyssey*. His comment on the island's multilingualism is particularly interesting since linguistic difference is generally ignored in Homer.[18] The details of this survey distract attention from the lack of any explanation of the circumstances which have brought him so far from home and reduced him to beggary.[19]At last he gives his name, Aithon[20], and claims to be Idomeneus' younger brother, left at home

[18] Exceptionally highlighted with regard to the Karians at Miletos (*Il.* 2.867) and the Lemnian Sinties (*Od.* 8.294); see further Gera 2011.

[19] Idomeneus' kin might be expected to be affected by whatever ended his rule in Krete. His story certainly developed beyond the safe return which Nestor reports (3.191–2); later legend had him leave home again, and his tomb was located at Kolophon (Lyk. *Alex.* 431–2, 1214–25: see further Hornblower *ad loc.*). 'Like so many of the Greeks, his travels seem designed above all to allow various Greek settlements to claim him as their founder' (Gantz 1993: 698).

[20] A not uncommon historical name.

when the Kretan contingent departed for Troy (presumably to act as regent). Ten days after Idomeneus' departure Odysseus and his company arrived, driven to Krete by unfavourable winds, and Odysseus sought hospitality with his old friend Idomeneus. Aithon entertained them for twelve days, until the north wind dropped, and replenished their supplies. We may think it callous of Odysseus to maintain his alias, but he has to make sure of Penelope's loyalty: the poet's repeated reminders of Agamemnon's fate[21] stifle any suggestion that he is overcautious. Her response is similarly guarded: she asks what Odysseus was wearing. While this might be judged all too typically a woman's question, we should remember that she would have produced the cloth from which his clothes were made. He describes a very high quality chiton and a distinctive brooch. Penelope is reduced to tears at the thought that she will never see her husband again, and though he assures her that he has had recent news of Odysseus in Thesprotia, where he was expected back from Dodona any day, she remains unconvinced.

We find further indications of the poet's interest in Krete. Nestor describes very exactly the site on the south coast where most of Menelaos' company were wrecked, on the edge of the territory of Gortyn (3.291–9):

> There he (Zeus) splitting the fleet brought some ships towards Krete, where the Kydonians lived around the streams of Iardanos. There is a sheer cliff there, running straight down to the water, on the edge of Gortyn, in the misty sea; there the south wind drives great breakers onto a headland to the west, and a small reef keeps off a great swell. There those ships came, and the men narrowly escaped destruction, but the waves shattered the vessels on the rocks.[22]

[21] The leitmotif of Agamemnon's return and its consequences, the 'Atreid paradigm', which allows both analogy and antithesis with the situation in Odysseus' household, is introduced on Olympos almost at the start of the poem (1.29ff.) and in Hades furnishes a tribute to Penelope almost at the end (24.193–8).

[22] *ἔνθα διατμήξας τὰς μὲν Κρήτηι ἐπέλασσεν,*
ἦχι Κύδωνες ἔναιον Ἰαρδάνου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα.
ἔστι δέ τις λισσὴ αἰπεῖά τε εἰς ἅλα πέτρη
ἐσχατιῆι Γόρτυνος ἐν ἠεροειδέι πόντωι·
ἔνθα Νότος μέγα κῦμα ποτὶ σκαιὸν ῥίον ὠθεῖ,
ἐς Φαιστόν, μικρὸς δὲ λίθος μέγα κῦμ' ἀποέργει.
αἳ μὲν ἄρ' ἔνθ' ἦλθον, σπουδῆι δ' ἤλυξαν ὄλεθρον
ἄνδρες, ἀτὰρ νηῶν γε ποτὶ σπιλάδεσσιν ἔαξαν
κύματ'.

Did some Kretan community thereabouts trace its origins to Spartan survivors from that disaster?[23]

Even more remarkable is the report in the scholia to *Od.* 3.313 that in Zenodotos' text of book 1 Athena proposed (93; 285) that after visiting Nestor at Pylos Telemachos should go on not to Menelaos in Sparta but to Idomeneus in Krete:[24] (On 3.313: 'And you, my friend) This passage induced Zenodotos in all references to Telemachos' journey to read Krete instead of Sparta. For he infers from these words that without the poet mentioning it Nestor has heard from Telemachos that he planned to sail somewhere else to inquire about his father. And so in the first rhapsodia (i.e. book 1) he wrote: I will send him to Krete and to sandy Pylos (1.93) and Athena elsewhere (says) 'First go to Pylos . . . / And from there to Krete, to Lord Idomeneus; / for he came home last of the bronze-clad Achaians' (cf. 1.284–5). That implies that Idomeneus was the most recently returned of the leaders who fought at Troy. The scholia note that Zenodotos' text agreed with the rest of the tradition at 2.359, when Telemachos tells Eurykleia of his plan to go to Pylos and Sparta.

Zenodotos, who was born *c.*325 and came from Ephesos, was the first of a trio of Hellenistic Homeric scholars active at Alexandria. He introduced the obelos, a marginal sign marking lines which he regarded as spurious. What we know about his text comes through the (much abbreviated) comments of his successors, Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchos, and is highly problematic. They clearly could only guess at the reasoning behind Zenodotos' preference for variant readings which they rejected.[25] Have we here a vestige of an

[23] Well discussed by Lane Fox 2008: 340–2. It is very odd that Plato's Kretan in the *Laws* (680c) claims that his countrymen are not very familiar with Homer; see further Levaniouk 2012.

[24] *καὶ σὺ φίλος*] *οὗτος ὁ τόπος ἀνέπεισε Ζηνόδοτον ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας Τηλεμάχου διόλου τὴν Κρήτην ἀντὶ τῆς Σπάρτης ποιεῖν. οἴεται γὰρ ἐκ τούτων τῶν λόγων κατὰ τὸ σιωπώμενον ἀκηκοέναι τὸν Νέστορα παρὰ τοῦ Τηλεμάχου ὅτι καὶ ἀλλαχόσε περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς πευσόμενος παρεσκεύαστο πλεῖν. διὸ καὶ ἐν τῇι α΄ ῥαψωδίαι ἔγραψε «πέμψω δ'ἐς Κρήτην τε καὶ ἐς Πύλον ἠμαθόεντα»* (1.93) *καὶ ἡ 'Αθηνᾶ ἀλλαχοῦ «πρῶτα μὲν ἐς Πύλον ἐλθέ . . . /κεῖθεν δ' ἐς Κρήτην τε παρ' 'Ιδομενῆα ἄνακτα· / ὃς γὰρ δεύτατος ἦλθεν 'Αχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων* (cf. 1.284–5).
Pontani's edition (Rome, 2010)

[25] On Zenodotos see further West 2001: esp. 33–45, 54–6; Schironi 2011. His Odyssean variants offer more interest than is suggested by what we know of his text of the *Iliad.*

episode that the poet originally planned and then discarded, a fascinating glimpse of the poet's workshop? Certainly a journey to Krete would have been much more of an adventure for Telemachos than his long weekend at Sparta. It would also have avoided the discrepancy between his timetable and that of Odysseus' journey from Kalypso's island.[26] Krete was famous for its archers: Telemachos could have hoped for intensive tuition in archery, supplying what he had missed while he was growing up without his father. The voyage to and from the island could have provided an element of danger and an opportunity for Telemachos to display the qualities which might be a source of *kleos*, renown. Yet it is hard to see how this compositional fossil, crying out for correction to produce consistency with the narrative of Telemachos' journey, could have survived so long.

At all events, then, the poet was very interested in Krete, and its legends and institutions offered much of intrinsic appeal; it probably figured extensively in Archaic epic. The prominence of Egypt, apparent in Odysseus' cover stories, is likely to have been a novelty. Egypt is mentioned only once in the *Iliad,* in Achilles' great speech rejecting Agamemnon's attempt at reconciliation: no amount of wealth can compensate for the injustice done to him: 'not even all that comes into Orchomenos or into Thebes in Egypt, where the greatest riches are stored in the houses, Thebes the city of a hundred gates, and two hundred men go out through each with horses and chariots' (*Il.* 9.381–4).[27] A line that once referred to the wealth of the Boiotian city of Thebes has been adapted in view of its destruction before the Trojan War.[28]

Relations had developed further by the time of the *Odyssey*'s composition; hence the choice of the name Aigyptios for the wise old Ithakan who gets going the public meeting at which Telemachos serves notice on the suitors (2.15). Aigyptios is not a traditional figure; the poet had a free choice in the matter of his name, and it reflects the

[26] See further Dawe 1993: 53; West 2014: 107–10.

[27] *οὐδ' ὅσ' ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν ποτινίσεται, οὐδ' ὅσα Θήβας*
Αἰγυπτίας, ὅθι πλεῖστα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κεῖται,
αἳ θ' ἑκατόμπυλοί εἰσι, διηκόσιοι δ'ἀν' ἑκάστας
ἀνέρες ἐξοιχνέουσι σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν.

[28] Though *Αἰγυπτίας* is metrically awkward.

region's opening to Greek trade and employment opportunities. Egypt is listed in Menelaos' summary of his seven-year-long *nostos* (4.81–9):

> I endured much and wandered far before I brought home my goods, and returned after seven years, having wandered to Cyprus, Phoenicia, and Egypt; I visited too the Ethiopians, the men of Sidon,[29] and the Eremboi[30], and Libya, where the lambs grow horns immediately. For the flocks bear young three times in the course of a year. There neither lord nor shepherd lacks cheese or meat or sweet milk, but throughout the year the beasts provide milk for their young.[31]

Libya is the high point in his travels, presented as a land extraordinarily favourable to pastoralism. Later, splendid gifts are displayed, given to the couple by their hosts in Upper Egypt, Alkandra and Polybos of Thebes (4.125–32). Egyptian nobles share Hellenic ideas about proper hospitality. From her hostess in the Delta, Polydamna, wife of Thon, Helen has received a more distinctively Egyptian gift, powerful drugs, among them what from its effects appears to be opium.[32] It is not surprising if Greek soldiers of fortune who took service under Psammetichos were impressed by painkillers far more effective than anything available at home. The name of Polydamna's husband, Thon, is really a toponym, designating the town which the Greeks called Herakleion, at the Canopic mouth of the Nile;[33] some 90 kilometres upstream the Greeks were permitted to set up their treaty port at Naukratis. The poet seems to envisage different rulers in Upper and Lower Egypt, not a single Pharaoh.

[29] It is strange that Sidon is treated as distinct from Phoenicia.

[30] Otherwise unknown.

[31] *ἦ γὰρ πολλὰ παθὼν καὶ πόλλ' ἐπαληθείς*
ἠγαγόμην ἐν νηυσί, καὶ ὀγδοάτωι ἔτει ἦλθον,
Κύπρον Φοινίκην τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίους ἐπαληθείς·
Αἰθίοπάς θ' ἱκόμην καὶ Σιδονίους καὶ Ἐρεμβούς
καὶ Λιβύην, ἵνα τ' ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραοὶ τελέθουσιν.
τρὶς γὰρ τίκτει μῆλα τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν·
ἔνθα μὲν οὔτε ἄναξ ἐπιδευὴς οὔτέ τι ποιμήν
τυροῦ καὶ κρειῶν οὐδὲ γλυκεροῖο γάλακτος,
ἀλλ' αἰεὶ παρέχουσιν ἐπηετανὸν γάλα θῆσθαι.

[32] See further Merlin 2003; Merrillees 1962. I am indebted to Yulia Ustinova for guidance on this point.

[33] It was the subject of a wonderful exhibition at the British Museum in 2016.

In these Egyptian references we see a reflection of the excitement generated as direct contact with the country became much easier than it had been for centuries, and this, in turn, makes the accession of Psammetichos in 664 a *terminus post quem* for the *Iliad*'s composition. Regular trade with Egypt would have made access to papyrus much easier, and the creation of lengthy texts would have been a more attractive idea than it could have seemed in the eighth century. The poet of the *Odyssey* was undoubtedly familiar with the *Iliad.* Menelaos' enthusiasm for North African pastoralism must be connected with Greek settlement in Cyrenaica,[34] and a date of composition in the last quarter of the seventh century is attractive. But the text was not set in stone and, at the interface of orality/aurality and literacy, stories were malleable and tradition multiform. There was scope for additions and adaptation according to local circumstances.

We lack the means to distinguish with confidence what might be the poet's afterthoughts from additions that he would not have sanctioned, to be labelled as interpolations. An episode in Thesprotia, in south-western Epiros, is a recurrent element in Odysseus' cover stories,[35] and we might suspect that the visit to the world of the dead of book 11 has replaced a consultation of his mother's ghost set at the famous oracle of the dead (*nekuomanteion*) in Thesprotia.[36]

The region may have a further significance for the story of Odysseus' homecoming. The pseudo-Mentes, the disguised Athena who visits Telemachos in book 1, relates his first encounter with Odysseus (1.257–64), whom he visited in a quest for anti-personnel (*androphonon*, 261) arrow poison. This is the first in a series of reminiscences that prepare Telemachos for the father whom he has yet to meet. Odysseus was coming from Ephyra where he had hoped to get arrow poison from Ilos, son of Mermeros (whose mother was Medea). Ephyra is also mentioned as a source of poison at 2.328–9. It was a fairly common place name, but only two towns need to be seriously considered here, Thesprotian Ephyra, later called Kichyros

[34] The foundation of Kyrene is dated to 631 by Eusebius, very probably following Eratosthenes, himself a Kyrenaian. The archaeological evidence indicates that this is about right.

[35] Well discussed by Malkin 1998: 126–34.

[36] Here, according to Herodotus (5.92η), Periandros of Korinth arranged to consult the ghost of his murdered wife Melissa. As Pausanias notes (1.17.5), the river names Acheron and Kokytos (*Od.* 10.513f.) are at home in Thesprotia.

(cf. Th. 1.46.4), and a town in Elis. In view of the poem's other references to Thesprotia, the latter seems much the less likely. Athena might be supposed to have complete freedom to invent the circumstances of that long-ago meeting, and might be expected to have nicely calculated the effect on Telemachos, so we may find disconcerting her explanation of Odysseus' visit to Ephyra (1.260–4):

> For Odysseus had gone there too on his swift ship, seeking man-slaying poison, so that he might have it to smear on his bronze-tipped arrows; but Ilos would not give it to him, as he stood in awe of the wrath of the everlasting gods, but my father gave it to him; for he loved him greatly.[37]

The reference to Ilos' scruples is disquieting, implying that in the brutal environment of Homeric warfare this early application of biological warfare was nevertheless thought unethical. This expedient may seem more appropriate to the Odysseus of Attic tragedy than to his Homeric image. Admittedly, Stesichoros' Herakles uses arrows poisoned with the blood of the Hydra against Geryon (F19 Finglass) and against the centaurs (Apollod. 2.85–6, 152), but these are monsters, not men. But perhaps the implications are not so discreditable. The belief that Odysseus had a supply of arrow poison would have rapidly induced the suitors to capitulate; viewed as a deterrent, making even a slight cut potentially fatal, there is much to recommend a resource which would have avoided the massacre which now occupies book 22.[38]

In Odysseus' cover stories we get a fascinating glimpse of a road not taken, indeed of more than one road, a glimpse of 'a world of counter-factual alternative versions' as Georg Danek well puts it. But the setting is largely the eastern Mediterranean world and its ancient cultures. It is clear that the poet could have provided an attractive *nostos* for Odysseus without the memorable marvels and monsters. But the *Odyssey* is focused rather towards the north and west, where new regions were becoming known and offered opportunities for

[37] ὤιχετο γὰρ καὶ κεῖσε θοῇς ἐπὶ νηὸς Ὀδυσσεύς
φάρμακον ἀνδροφόνον διζήμενος, ὄφρα οἱ εἴη
ἰοὺς χρίεσθαι χαλκήρεας· ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν οὔ οἱ
δῶκεν, ἐπεί ῥα θεοὺς νεμεσίζετο αἰὲν ἐόντας,
ἀλλὰ πατήρ οἱ δῶκεν ἐμός· φιλέεσκε γὰρ αἰνῶς.

[38] See further Dirlmeier 1966.

settlement and trade along with the stimulus and excitement of the unfamiliar.

'Westward, look, the land is bright!',[39] and westward is the direction in which Odysseus and his company[40] are driven when they fail to round Cape Malea, the most southerly point of the Peloponnese (9.80–1). They thus enter an unknown region. Their first stop is in the land of the Lotophagoi, Tennyson's 'mild-eyed melancholy Lotos-eaters' (9.82–104), whose friendly welcome to the trio sent out to reconnoitre creates a surprising hazard, as those who have sampled the lotos lose all desire to leave. Odysseus exercises tough love, and forces them on board. The importance of diet as a cultural marker, a principle evident in Herodotus' ethnography,[41] is suggested here; it becomes all too clear in Odysseus' encounter with Polyphemos.

The suspicion that savages are cannibals has often occurred to European explorers at first contact with a previously unknown group; it has very seldom been justified.[42] Polyphemos' way of life represents a less attractive version of the North African pastoral idyll described by Menelaos. The people of Cyrenaica were still in the Stone Age when the Greeks first arrived, the region being poor in any mineral save salt. Significantly, the Libyan contingent in Xerxes' army is represented as equipped only with primitive fire-hardened spears (Hdt. 7.71). The poet alerts us to the vast cultural gap with two technical similes in close succession as Odysseus relates his assault on Polyphemos. The first is drawn from carpentry: 'as when a man bores a hole in a ship's timber with a drill, and others below keep it turning with a leather strap, holding it at each end, and it runs continuously, without stopping' (9.384–6).[43] The second comes from metallurgy: 'as when a smith dips a great axe or adze in cold

[39] The final line of A. H. Clough's poem 'Say not the struggle nought availeth'.

[40] The poet quite unrealistically keeps Odysseus' small fleet together through terrible storms lasting for many days, until all but the hero's own ship are wantonly destroyed in the Laistrygonian harbour.

[41] Outstandingly in book 4, where his description of Skythia and the Skythians starts with a (very inaccurate) account of the production of fermented mare's milk, the staple of nomadic diet (4.2).

[42] See further Arens 1979.

[43] *ὥς ὅτε τις τρυπῶι δόρυ νήιον ἀνήρ*
τρυπάνωι, οἳ δέ τ'ἔνερθεν ὑποσσείουσιν ἱμάντι
ἀψάμενοι ἑκάτερθε, τὸ δὲ τρέχει ἐμμενὲς αἰεί.

water, and it hisses loudly as he thus treats it; for this gives strength to iron' (9.391–3).[44]

Odysseus' assessment of the potential for successful settlement offered by the nearby Island of Goats (9.116–41) pinpoints the disadvantages arising from the Kyklopes' lack of technical skills; he himself can construct a small boat[45] single-handed in four days (5.234–62). Book 9 has been well described as a 'mini-colonial book'.[46] In the storm which drives Odysseus' contingent westward (9.80f.) we have a cliché of exploration and discovery. The North African coast is strongly implied, and most invitingly presented if the current population is ignored. Vines would do well on the Island of Goats (9.133), and could be expected to produce good wine (9.110; 357–9). Polyphemos has a club of olive-wood (9.319–21), and grain grows easily (9.109f.), so the staples of Greek diet would be readily available.[47] With the visit to Aiolos (10.1–27) we move into a less familiar world.

Northward, too, Greek horizons were receding, as the Euxine became better known with advances in shipbuilding.[48] It was still largely unexplored when the legend of the Argonauts took shape; their voyage is viewed as a venture to the furthest east, and belongs to a time when the Black Sea could be regarded as a gulf of the earth-encircling stream of Okeanos. The *Odyssey* acknowledges a debt to Argonautic legend in an allusion to the Clashing Rocks, the Plangktai: 'only one sea-going ship has sailed past that way, the Argo, of which all have heard, as she sailed from Aietes; and she would have

[44] *ὡς δ'ὅτ' ἀνὴρ χαλκεὺς πέλεκυν μέγαν ἠὲ σκέπαρνον*
εἰν ὕδατι ψυχρῷι βάπτηι μεγάλα ἰάχοντα
φαρμάσσων· τὸ γὰρ αὖτε σιδήρου γε κράτος ἐστίν.

[45] Not a raft, though it is often so termed.

[46] Dougherty 2001: 212 n. 28.

[47] Colonization and the Kyklopes are also associated (negatively) when the Phaiakians are introduced (6.3–10).They had once lived near to the Kyklopes, but found them such impossible neighbours that they migrated to remote Scheria under the leadership of Alkinoos' father, Nausithoos, who performs the basic tasks expected of an oikist, organizing the construction of a city wall, houses, and temples, and the distribution of land. Their expertise in navigation, emphasized in their names, allowed them to take over an uninhabited island with an ideal environment, treated as beyond the limits of the known world; the traditional identification of Scheria with Kerkyra is hard to understand.

[48] See further Wallinga 1993: 33–65.

swiftly been hurled against the great rocks, but Hera escorted her past, since Jason was dear to her' (12.69–72).[49] We should think in terms of a body of Argonautic poetry composed when the Euxine was largely unexplored, rather than a single poetic narrative which happened not to be recorded in writing. Greek settlement on the northern coast, largely resulting from Milesian initiative, came rather later than on the shores of the Mediterranean; we might guess that the pioneers were men forced to overwinter there when they had intended to stay only for the summer, but had too long delayed returning home. Though dates must be rather imprecise, Greek settlement in this area was getting under way around the end of the seventh century. The detailed description of the Laistrygonian harbour suits Balaklava Bay (a Soviet submarine base for many years) remarkably well.

Contact with the inhabitants of the North Pontic coast brought information (or at any rate rumours) about conditions and peoples further north.[50] Herodotus' description of the climate (4.28) better suits the Arctic Circle than the Crimea. The long summer days of northern latitudes are reflected in the *Odyssey* in the curious detail that among the Laistrygonians a herdsman who needed no sleep might get double pay (10.81–6):

> On the seventh day we came to Lamos' steep citadel, Laistrygonian Telepylos (Far-gate), where the herdsman driving his flock home calls out and the one driving his beasts out answers him. There a man who went without sleep could get double wages, one for minding cattle, the other for keeping watch over silvery sheep. For the paths of night and day lie close.[51]

[49] *οἵη δὴ κείνηι γε παρέπλω ποντοπόρος νηῦς*
Ἀργὼ πᾶσι μέλουσα, παρ' Αἰήταο πλέουσα·
καί νύ κε τὴν ἔνθ' ὧκα βάλεν μεγάλας ποτὶ πέτρας,
ἀλλ' Ἥρη παρέπεμψεν, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἦεν Ἰήσων.

[50] See further West 2011, esp. 290–6. If the *Arimaspeia* was composed anything like as early as Herodotus supposed, i.e. some two hundred years before his own day (4.15.1), it might have been among the poet's sources, but this seems highly unlikely.

[51] *ἑβδομάτηι δ' ἱκόμεσθα Λάμου αἰπὺ πτολίεθρον,*
Τηλέπυλον Λαιστρυγονίην, ὅθι ποιμένα ποιμήν
ἠπύει εἰσελάων, ὁ δέ τ' ἐξελάων ὑπακούει.
ἔνθα κ' ἄυπνος ἀνὴρ δοιοὺς ἐξήρετο μισθούς,
τὸν μὲν βουκολέων, τὸν δ' ἄργυφα μῆλα νομεύων·
ἐγγυς γὰρ νυκτός τε καὶ ἤματός εἰσι κέλευθοι.

The 'brilliant fantasies', Antiphates,[52] Skylla, the Kyklops, and Charybdis, praised by Horace (above, n. 12) belong to a period of adventurous exploration; compare the stories with which Othello won Desdemona's heart (1.3.140ff.). The perils of navigation in unfamiliar waters are exemplified by the hazards presented by Skylla and Charybdis. 'They that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in the great waters, these see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep' (*Psalm* 107.23–4). By the time the *Odyssey* took shape, some Greeks must have observed Etna and the volcanoes of the Aiolian Islands, but these marvels, it seems, beggared description.

Odysseus, 'never drowned in the adverse waves of troubles',[53] was in some ways admirably qualified for the role of proto-colonial hero, prospecting regions previously unexplored, but undeviating in his attachment to his homeland.[54]

[52] The Laistrygonian king (10.106, etc.); Antiphates (cf. *Il.* 12.191) is quite a common historical name.

[53] *adversis rerum immersabilis undis:* Hor. *Epist.* 1.2.22.

[54] It is a pleasure to thank the organizers Giula Biffis and Simon Hornblower, for the invitation to take part in the stimulating and enjoyable conference from which the present book originates. My paper owes an incalculable debt to my late husband, with whom I had been discussing Homer since 1958; but it would be a poor return to imply that he would have approved of everything in it.

4

Returning Heroes and Greek Colonists

Irad Malkin

HEROES, *NOSTOI,* AND GREEK *APOIKOI*

By around 500 BCE there were about one thousand Greek *poleis* spread along the coasts of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. Four hundred of them were founded as *apoikiai*, colonies, between the eighth and the sixth centuries (Map 4.1). Relations between colonies and mother cities were mostly symbolic, and did not entail control. They implied reciprocal, multidirectional networks with an option to return home if the foundation failed or, conversely, with the option for people from the mother city to emigrate later to an *apoikia.*

Since what was founded was an *ap-oikia,* a 'home away from home', the idea of *return* implied both the *mētropolis* ('mother-city', the founding community, plural *mētropoleis*) and the colony. The mental framework that enabled it was already in place through the *Nostoi,* the stories about heroes returning from the Trojan War, known to us mainly through the *Odyssey,* but known to Greeks in the Archaic period through a whole range of epic poems.

Greek *nostoi* myths, stories about heroes returning from the Trojan War, generated articulations not only of departure and return but also the very notion of the 'home', the personal and collective *oikos.* The idea of *nostos* is surprisingly multidirectional and does not always signify 'homecoming'. When homecoming is involved, *nostos* myths often indicate failed integration and result in further wanderings and new foundations. In the context of historical colonization, we will also observe a 'double home' and the potential for a double return: from and to the mother city; from, and to, the *apoikia.*

Map 4.1 Greeks, Phoenicians, and Etruscans in the Mediterranean.

Reproduced from Malkin 2011 by permission of OUP.

The notion of 'return' involves a contradiction in terms, a contradiction that Herakleitos could have expressed (below, p. 275): a person returning has changed and is no longer the same, nor is the situation to which he returns. 'You can't go home again,' says Thomas Wolfe,[1] as Agamemnon, murdered upon his triumphal return, would have recognized. Failures of reintegration are indeed a common theme of successful *nostoi*. Even when Homer sings of such *nostoi*, like those of Diomedes and Nestor, alternative early traditions disagree: Nestor and the Pylians first wander to Italy; at Argos, his home, Diomedes finds an unfaithful, conspiring wife, and departs for the Adriatic, never to return.[2]

Nestor, indeed, is a good example: supposedly he is the quintessential *nostos* hero whose very name is a *nes-* (*νεϵς) word. Nestôr, says Chantraine,[3] is 'he who returns happily, who brings back the army happily'; that is, he is the reverse image of Odysseus. His return in the *Odyssey* is a happy reintegration, and the sailing over is smooth and quick.[4] However, in non-Homeric traditions even this hero does not make it home easily. Before reaching Pylos, Nestor was swept to the heel of Italy, and his Pylian followers became, in turn, the founders of Etruscan Pisa and of Greek Metapontion. Another one of Nestor's fellows, Epeios, becomes the founder of Lagaria where he dedicates at the temple of Athena the tools with which he built the Trojan horse.[5]

It seems, therefore, that there were Greeks who apparently needed to stretch Nestor's image on a larger frame. Greeks in Italy had their own interests: by association with Nestor, Metapontion became older than its rival Taras (founded 706 BCE). A cult was accorded to the Neleidai (Neleus was Nestor's father) at Metapontion.[6] Neleus was the leader of the Ionian migration to Asia Minor, mentioned in the seventh-century account of Mimnermos of Kolophon.[7]

Homer has Philoktetes return safely to Thessaly but outside Homer he reaches Italy;[8] whereas Homeric Diomedes returns safely to Argos, in

[1] Wolfe 1942. [2] Malkin 1998a: ch. 7 & 8.

[3] According to Chantraine 1968: 744, Nestor signifies 'qui rentre heureusement' or 'qui ramène heureusement son armée'. See especially Frame 2009. Cf. Dickson 1995. See also Fowler, this volume, p. 53, and cf, Introduction p. 8.

[4] Malkin and Fichman 1987 with a maritime map and suggested itineraries.

[5] On Pylians with Nestor, see Strabo 6.1.15; cf. Vell. Pat. 1.1 (Epeios, separated by storm from Nestor); Solin. 2.10. For fuller discussion and references see Malkin 1998a: 210–33. For Epeios in particular see Genovese, this volume. Lyk. *Alex.* 930–50 is basic.

[6] Giannelli 1963: 89. [7] Mimnermos F 9,10 West.

[8] Malkin 1998b. Lyk. *Alex.* 911–29 is the fullest and earliest source; see Hornblower 2015: 343–50.

other versions he fails both in his homecoming and in an attempted foundation overseas. Having been exiled from home, he is then cheated by the Italian King Daunos; Diomedes cursed the land with sterility and the stones from the walls of Troy that were used as boundary markers would fly back of their own accord whenever moved. Curses and flying stones represent fantasies of colonial frustrations and failures, which is perhaps why Alexander the Molossian in the fourth century used the *nostos* of Diomedes as a charter myth for conquest.[9]

Or take Odysseus: from a communal perspective, his *nostos* was a disaster. He not only lost all the flower of Ithaka, the young men with whom he had set out, but now, back home, he proceeds to massacre much of the current flower of Ithaka. To the parents and siblings of those perished abroad and at home who take arms against him, Odysseus must have seemed a monster, as the apologetic tone of the opening lines of the poem perhaps indicates. The *Odyssey* ends with the horror of a civil war. Reintegration at home is finally possible on two conditions: a collective *amnēsia* sponsored by Athena,[10] and a personal sacrifice by Odysseus to Poseidon as far as possible from the sea, the usual space of the Greek *nostos*.

Throughout his wanderings, Odysseus refuses to 'forget his *nostos*', rejects the Kalypso and Kirke, the lotus-flowers and the Sirens, and retains his identity, an identity that depended on where he came from. Others have noted that the cognate of *nostos* is *noos*, 'mind', with its implications of memory of the self, namely, 'identity'.[11] For what is 'remembering' if not 'returning' in one's mind?

The Trojan War represented a convergence of 'all Greeks' whereas most *nostoi* myths represent divergence, with heroes separating and spreading far and wide. The *nostoi* are the Big Bang that explained for Greeks the political and ethnographic atomization of historical reality: *staseis* and turmoil in Greece, new mass migrations, new invasions of Boiotoi and Herakleidai, as Thucydides' *Archaeology* illustrates.[12] The heroes of *nostoi* also become progenitors of other

[9] Malkin 1998a: 234–57; Kirigin 2004; Kirigin and Čače 1998. For Lykophron's account of this (again the main ancient source) see *Alex.* 592–632 with Hornblower 2015: 252–68.

[10] Cf. Loraux 2002: 155–8. The need for *amnēsia*, a shared communal forgetfulness, will find its later expression in the *amnesty* (note the redundancy) at Athens following the overthrow of the Thirty Tyrants: remembering past grievances, *μνησικακεῖν*, was forbidden. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 39.

[11] Frame 1978.

[12] Malkin 1998a: *passim* and at chapter 3.

peoples: Odysseus and Kirke, says Hesiod, sired Latinos.[13] In short, homecoming myths mostly explain a direction away from home: a new start, a new beginning, new ancestors, exile, migration, and colonization.

A hero of a *nostos* is perceived in terms of his origins and potential return, which corresponds to the Greek notion of travel defined in terms of the point of departure (*apodēmein;* see below). He is, I suggest, parallel to an *apoikos*, either an exile or a settler 'away from home'. Historical Greek colonization involved tensions similar to the *nostoi* framework: a new 'home', an *apoikia,* is founded. It is rare to find a source that projects its own future but we do have some public decrees concerning city-foundation that do precisely that. There the right of return is explicit, as well as the right to join an *apoikia* later, so that a citizen of the mother city could come, or 'return', as it were, to the *apoikia,* a home away from home.

The contradictory tension between home and abroad, as implied by the *nostoi* traditions, finds its parallels in the Archaic period on the collective level, when a person of one *oikos* at a *mētropolis* becomes an *apoikos* in the new *apoikia.* The 'Right of Return' became bidirectional: it was relevant both to an *apoikos* wishing to return to his *mētropolis* and the right to emigrate from the *mētropolis* to a now well-established *apoikia*. Historical realities often change much too fast for the more rigid conceptual tools and the semantic range of language to adapt. It appears that the '*nostos* frame-of-reference' lingered on in the Archaic period, especially during the eighth and seventh centuries, among the same people who knew the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. This was also the time when the very notions of *oikos* and *apoikia* were being transformed and differently applied.

COMMUNITY, HOME, AND HOUSEHOLD

The return is first and foremost to one's *oikos*, a home and a household. But what constitutes a home? Hektor fights for his wife, children, his *oikos,* and his *klēros.*[14] For Odysseus, who misses his home and his wife,[15] the essential quality of return is not a return to status

[13] Hes. *Th*. 1011–13. [14] *Il*. 15.496. [15] *Od*. 1.13.

of supreme *basileus*, but to 'home', *tout court*. Homer distinguishes, right at the start of the *Odyssey*, between *basileia* and 'home' namely, a combination of home, family, and land. That is precisely what Greek colonists aspired to, as Archilochos illustrates: a promise of a new *klēros*,[16] and both a personal and a collective *oikos*. If an *oikos* had a *hestia* ('hearth'), the *apoikia* had its common hearth, its *koinē hestia*.[17]

The *Odyssey* knows partible inheritance among several sons, by lottery (an irrelevant problem for Telemachos, an only son).[18] In the early Archaic period an ideal of one man per one *oikos* prevailed. Two sons meant overpopulation, as Hesiod seems to hint,[19] and the home in general could become 'too narrow' (*stenochōria*).[20] When the Therans founded Kyrene, an *oikos* with two brothers needed to choose one by lot and send him off.[21] This was perhaps the most pressing reason for Greek colonization on an individual basis: aspiring for a new *oikos* to replace the old, and a new *apoikia* instead of the old home community.

How does *nostos* relate to the *oikos?* The noun *nostos* is mostly familiar to us in the sense of homecoming, a return, and is often linked with expressions such as *oikade*, *honde domonde*, *oikonde*, *es patrida gaian*.[22] This sounds unidirectional: homeward. However, in terms of the semantic field of *nostos*, *noos*, and *neomai,* homecoming as such is not the primary meaning of *nostos*. Douglas Frame, Francoise Létoublon, and most thoroughly Anna Bonifazi have studied verbs of motion (especially Létoublon) and the semantic range specifically of *nostos*.[23] Létoublon distinguishes between centrifugal and centripetal movement, depending on the location of the speaker and the intended action. This may be parallel to the difference between 'coming' and 'going' in English, depending whether the emphasis is on the point of departure or arrival. Greek seems to prefer the point of departure as defining movement, which may clarify the emphasis on returning to that point in both *nostoi* stories and colonial *ktiseis* (foundation stories). This seems to be the conclusion of Marie-Françoise Baslez and especially that of Silvia Montiglio's analysis of *apo-dēmein,*

[16] Archiloch., fr. 293 W. = Ath. 4.63= 167 d.
[17] Malkin 1987: chapter 3. [18] *Od.* 14.208–10. [19] *WD* 376–8.
[20] Plato *Laws* 708b; cf. 735e–736a. [21] Hdt. 4.153, *SEG* 9.28.
[22] For a full, exhaustive discussion see Bonifazi 2009, to which this paper owes a significant debt. Cf. Kurke 1991: 31–2.
[23] Bonifazi 2008 and 2009; Frame 1978; Létoublon 1985.

and the parallel with *apoikia* is explicit.[24] Thus *apodēmein* and *apoikizein* define the action of travel (or travel that results in settlement) in reference not to *destination* but to one's point of departure, whether an individual or a group around him.

In Homer, too, *nostos* does not necessarily signify a return home. The arrival of Odysseus at Phaiakia is a *nostos,* signifying 'arriving safely'.[25] Similarly, the arrival of Menelaos at Phoenician Sidon is also a *nostos.*[26] Bonifazi notes that *nostoi* are often linked with sea voyages, indicating a successful sea journey reaching *any* land, as long as it means survival. She further analyses the related words *noos* and especially *neomai*, with its overlapping notions of coming and *planning* (where to go). Of *neomai* she remarks that it '. . . conveys a sort of active exploration linked to a new place reached by sea'. *noos* is thus at once 'mind', but also intuition, grasping what to expect in a new land. She concludes[27]'. . . far beyond the ideas of *nostos* and *neomai* uniquely as "homecoming", of "remembering the *nostos*" as "nostalgia" and of *noeō* as "thinking", such words convey *a striking multidirectional range of meanings* . . .' (my emphasis). 'Coming is also going, returning is also departing, thinking is also leading in doing, remembering is also planning for the future.' It is this semantic spectrum that places its range of meaning as particularly applicable to the early Archaic period, when an audience listening to the *Odyssey* could relate directly to the experience of travel, exploration, trade, going abroad, and returning—all within the same matrix.

The multidirectional *nostos*, signifying both a safe homecoming, a safe haven, and a new home elsewhere, connects with the question of how the notions of 'return' and 'home' were perceived both on a personal and a collective level in the Archaic period. We need therefore to examine the notion of a 'double home' implied in Greek colonization, a historical phenomenon that was contemporary with the spread of *nostoi* myths. We have data concerning close to four hundred *poleis* that were founded during the Archaic period, mostly with a clear notion of the identity of a mother city, a notion shared by both citizens of the *mētropolis* and those of the *apoikia. Mētropoleis* and *apoikiai* often shared the same *nomima* with the colonies, namely the same institutions, cults, sacred calendar, and magistracies.[28] The

[24] Baslez 1984: 49; Montiglio 2005; cf. Kurke 1991: 22–5.
[25] *Od.* 5.343; 19.69–72. [26] *Od.* 4.617–19. [27] Bonifazi 2008: 127.
[28] Malkin 2011: ch.6; cf. Jones 1987; Knoepfler 1989; 1990; Robu 2014.

question of the right of return and successful reintegration at home was both a practical issue and, as we shall see in texts of foundation decrees, was very much on the minds of many Greek communities.

Foundation decrees emphasize the *oikos* in terms of family relationship and kinship, a point that also expresses notions of return. The key term is *oikos* and its related words, such as *apoikia* and *oikistēs* (plural *oikistai*).[29] Similarly, the term *apoikia* signifies a '[home] far from home', thus emphasizing precisely a linkage of homes. Whether one is *going* to an *apoikia* or *coming* to it revolves around the same directional questions we have just seen with the term *nostos*.

The semantic field of the use of those terms signifies direct parental origins, consanguinity, and on-going relations: 'As parents to children'[30] are the opening words of a Lokrian foundation decree,[31] as reported by Timaios, transmitted by Polybius. 'The Lokrians first of all showed me (Timaios) a written treaty which began with the words, "as parents to children". There are also existing decrees securing mutual rights of citizenship to both.' Polybius does not believe Timaios (in line with his general attack on him) and some modern commentators who do not deny what Timaios saw still consider the inscription to have been 'a forgery'. However, the reason given,[32] that the formula 'as parents to children' is too 'sentimental' for such an early date, is an impressionistic, a priori argument. Considering the examples of attested kinship among colonies and mother cities mentioned in the present paper, such an inference is untenable. The almost total lack of *proxenia* relations between mother cities and colonies also implies they were not *xenoi*, 'foreigners', to each other.[33] Note for example, the terms 'mētro-polis' and *oikeioi*, or the example of Kerkyra where known tombs of the ancestors of its colonists were pointed out (below). Moreover, it is probably an anachronism to infer emotions from this formula. 'Parents and children' carries a wide range of implications, relating also to expected protection from a mother city, cult, and economic links.

As I have argued elsewhere, colonization itself did more for the crystallization of *polis* forms than vice versa.[34] Specifically, once a dissonant section, a *meros,* of the population was sent out as an

[29] Casevitz 1985. [30] *ὡς γονεῦσι πρὸς τέκνα.*
[31] Pol. 12.9.3, following Timaios (F 12). [32] By Walbank, *HCP* 2: 345.
[33] See the lists (there are some late exceptions) in Mack 2015.
[34] Malkin 1994b.

apoikia, only then could the home community homogenize as a *polis*. My conclusion was that the sending out of an *apoikia* was sometimes tantamount to the founding of the home society as a more cohesive political community. This theme runs through the story of the Minyans whose departure for Thera allowed Sparta to homogenize;[35] or the Partheniai, the Spartan colonists to Italy, who threatened *stasis* and, if they needed to exercise their right of return home in case of failure, they would get 'one fifth of Messenia'.[36] Note that their potential return, just like that of the heroes of *nostoi,* might threaten the home community with *stasis*, civil strife. But in a way one could also 'return' to a colony: in Kyrene's foundation decree men from the *mētropolis* could go to the *apoikia* at a later date. This gives a more specific sense to the term *apoikia*: kinship recognition, at a distance, yet with potential for bidirectional movement. Colonists returning home, or persons from the home community immigrating, now or later, to the colony. So we have two 'homes' and two kinds of 'return'.

The *oikos* element in *apoikia* covers a wider range of meanings than the relatively later term, *mētropolis.* An *apoikos* may be somebody residing far away, permanently or temporarily. Sophocles has Oidipous say he was once a Korinthian by expressing it as (literally) 'Korinth was resided far away from me a long time ago'.[37] Or consider a migration of a clan far away from home that results in settlement. From Lakedaimon, says Pindar, 'they went to inhabit/settle (*apōkēsan*) Kalliste (Thera).'[38] Isokrates retains the sense of both emigration and colonization: 'The Phokaians, fleeing the tyranny of the Great King, left Asia and settled at a distance in Massalia.'[39] In both it is not just settlement but the movement to the new land that is implied. Isokrates is consistent: much earlier Hekataios defines Massalia as an '*apoikos* of the Phokaians'.[40]

Casevitz shows that the word *apoikos* may also be applied to exiles and married women. Saying 'far away' naturally implies a point of origins from which one is far. Hence, too, the parallel practices that we find in domestic and collective life: a woman marrying takes fire from the hearth at home to the new hearth of her husband; a military

[35] Hdt. 4.145. Analysis in Malkin 1994a: 73–94.
[36] Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 216. Analysis in Malkin 1994a: 115–42.
[37] *OT* 998: *ἡ Κόρινθος ἐξ ἐμοῦ πάλαι μακρὰν ἀπῳκεῖτο.*
[38] Pi. *P.* 4.258.
[39] Isokrates *Archidamos* 84: *εἰς Μασσαλίαν ἀπῴκησαν.*
[40] Hekataios of Miletus, *FGrHist* 1 F 55.

commander takes fire from the hearth at the home city to ignite sacrificial fire en route; an *oikistēs* ('founder') would take fire from the collective home to initiate the fire in the new collective home.[41] The *apoikia* thus relates to the notion of an *oikos,* with the extended communal meaning attached according to context.

Note there are two sets of terms in Greek colonization: the first revolves around *ktizein,* with an emphasis on tilling a land: hence *ktizō,* 'I found', *ktisma,* 'foundation', *ktistēs*, 'founder'. Unlike *apoikia* the family of words around *ktizein* is not relational, it implies no home or mother city. It revolves rather around taking possession and tilling the land[42] (in this sense the Latin *colonia* is actually similar in its range of meaning). Somewhat more common, however, is the *oikizein* range of words. The examples collected by Casevitz abound, all indicating that *apoikia* involves *movement* to some distance from a home. Since *oikos* may signify (early on) both a house and a household, it would seem that the early signification of the *oikos* compounds with *ap-* has more to do with individual movement and migration than with an organized expedition by an entire community.[43]

The *oikos* in the late eighth and seven centuries implies an inherent contradiction: on the one hand, the *oikos* implies continuity, expressed in inheritance and family cults,[44] on the other, its basic unit could be perceived *c.*700 BCE (as Hesiod says), as '[a man], a woman, and a plough-ox',[45] i.e., not an estate with many sons living on it. In other words, the creation of new *oikoi* for individual young men was a common expectation. Communities, such as Thera, probably wished to keep their *oikoi.* But apparently, there were too many men around: Thera conducted a lottery to determine which son (from an *oikos* that had more than one) must leave for a new colony (where he would establish a new *oikos*).[46]

The Homeric *oikos* signifies something more like *familia* in early Latin, involving a master and 'all that is his', including slaves.[47] Thus, when we speak of 'individual mobility', the term may relate to a movement of a group of persons, such as entire households, perhaps with an individual going first. It may also relate, Odysseus-style, to prominent leaders and their companions, just like the *nostoi.* This is

[41] Malkin 1987: ch. 3. [42] Casevitz 1985.
[43] *oikos:* Nevett 1999: 4–20; cf. Faraone 2008; Kurke 1991: ch. 1; Roussel 1976.
[44] Parker 2005: 9–36; cf. Asheri 1960. [45] *WD* 405. [46] See above.
[47] Finley 1979: 77–9.

the point: heroic *nostoi* and historical figures could overlap. Odysseus the Bastard sets out with his *hetairoi*, his companions. This is precisely the term used in the foundation decree of Kyrene: 'since Apollo of his own initiative has given a prophecy to Battos and the Therans ordering them to colonize (*apoikixai*) Kyrene, the Therans resolve that Battos be sent to Libya as leader (*archāgetās*) and king (*basileus*); that the Therans shall sail as his companions . . . (*hetairoi*).'[48]

It is perhaps no accident that the foundation decree of Kyrene calls the Theran colonists 'companions', *à l'ancienne*. These are to be the *hetairoi* of the founder Battos who was himself exceptional as both founder (*archāgetās*) and king (*basileus*).[49] The language is still that of the Dark Age leaders, such as Odysseus and his *hetairoi*, but the right to return home, which is explicit, is now communal. Battos, an exception, indicates the transition from *hetairoi*-marauders and migrants led by a hero-*basileus* to the more communal *apoikia.* The leader would be recognized as a hero but only after his death and there was no special status to the descendants of the founder.[50]

The parallel with Odysseus is interesting: had he settled with his *hetairoi* on the empty goat island facing the Kyklopes (he contemplates the advantages of settlement there), he would have distributed lands equally, as he does with the goats (by lottery) and the booty of Ismaros. This is also implied in the distribution of the plough land by the founder of Phaiakia in the *Odyssey.*[51] Colonization implied that land became 'permanent booty', and the hero-founder Battos seems to be expected to distribute the land among his *hetairoi.* However, all of Odysseus' companions had perished although he had striven to secure his own life and their safe return (*noston hetairōn*).[52]

The overlap between *nostoi*-type leaders and historical *oikistai* is also evident in the way Thucydides describes the foundation of Naxos in Sicily, about one century before Kyrene. It was not 'Chalkis' which founded Naxos. Rather, these were 'Chalkidians from Euboia *who sailed with* Thoukles, the *oikistēs,* and they founded Naxos'.[53] It seems that Thoukles had his Chalkidian *hetairoi.* Like Neleus, the heroic-mythic founder of Ionian cities, Thoukles tried to become the founder

[48] *SEG* 9.3.25–28. Translation in Graham 1983: 225. [49] *SEG* 9.3.26–7.
[50] Malkin 1987: 241–60.
[51] Goat island: *Od.* 9.159–60 (division of the goats by lot); Ismaros: so that 'no man might go defrauded of an equal share' (*ὡς μή τίς μοι ἀτεμβόμενος κίοι ἴσης.*) *Od.* 9.42; Phaiakia: *Od.* 6.6–10.
[52] *Od.* 1.5–7. [53] Th. 6.3.1.

of more than one city, but times have changed, and these rejected him, or at least Katane did: 'the Katanians themselves choosing Euarchos as their founder'.[54] From now on we may find several founders per city but not several cities per founder.

RETURNING TO THE *OIKOS* AND TO THE *POLIS*

With the foundation of numerous new settlements *oikos*-related words came to play a role on the communal level. In addition to individual migrants and exiles, the question of return became relevant, collectively, both to colonists returning to the *mētropolis* and to emigrants from the *mētropolis* going to the colonies in later periods. The notion of 'return' is articulated, around 500 BCE, in the foundation decree of Naupaktos (below) and in other decrees concerning the reintegration of individuals in the mother city. There is no sense of a novelty in such decrees; rather their specific details seem to be based on conventional expectations and forms.[55]

Mental and practical notions of origins and identity form lines that connect persons in a mother city and a colony especially during the first and second generations after the foundation. Two inscriptions, one from Perinthos, the other from Kyrene, mention *oikeioi*. The word is usually translated as 'kinsmen', but it can function on a larger scale with the sense 'citizens', although the relevant association with kinship is retained.[56]

Sons, exiles, and colonists could all claim the right to return home. In the context of colonization this could imply both the right of an individual settler to return home or, in case of a failed settlement, a collective right for all *apoikoi*. Such a 'right', formally expressed in decrees and informally in narrative accounts (below), indicates that the notion of a home community was retained. It involved both blood links and

[54] Th. 6.3.3.

[55] I discuss the 'right of return' in Malkin 2016 in order to understand its implications for relationships among *mētropoleis* and *apoikiai,* and in order to reconfirm, from a specific angle, the general category of Greek colonization that had been under some attack in recent scholarship. Here I recapitulate some of the points to demonstrate the overlap between *nostoi* and 'returns' in the historical world of Greek *apoikiai*.

[56] Graham 1964, with discussion and references.

issues of legal and political integration. It also illustrates the tension of 'coming or going' in relation to both *apoikia* and *mētropolis*, a multi-directional relational perspective which we have just seen with *nostos*.

The terms for inheritance rights in the foundation decree of Naupaktos[57] (a (re)colonization by the Eastern Lokrians) seem quite flexible: a colonist may inherit in the home community and vice versa. An ongoing network of personal connections (an often neglected point) is thus implied. This also has some political implications, since in a Greek *polis* communal rights were often linked with, or dependent on, issues of property. There are a few more relevant points in this decree:

- A colonist may return, provided he leaves one son 'at the hearth', *ephestios*, namely a living *oikos*, as noted above. These are *apoikoi* in a very literal sense; the point also illustrates why a mother city might be interested in sons returning: time and again we hear of *oikoi* as the building block of *polis* society and an empty *oikos* poses the threat of a diminishing community.[58]
- The colonist loses his citizenship 'when he becomes a Naupaktian'; however, if he returns to the Hypoknemidian Lokrians, he may become a citizen yet again: 'he shall have it proclaimed in the marketplace of Naupaktos, and among the Hypoknemidian Lokrians he shall have it proclaimed in the marketplace *of the city of origin*' (lit. 'whence he comes', lines 19–22).
- The colonist retains the right to share in the most evident expression of political participation, a cult: a few provisions allow him and his family to 'make offerings and receive a share both in the sacrifices of the people and those of the societies' (lines 1–4).

Aside from individual choice, the right of return is also granted communally, if the colonists are compelled 'by necessity' to abandon Naupaktos. 'These indications,' says A. J. Graham, 'may imply that the Greeks were less clear and definite that the colonist ceased completely to be a citizen of his mother country than some modern scholars have been.'[59]

The right of return expresses belonging to a home community. Yet, the movement between colony and mother city was not one-sided.

[57] Van Effenterre and Ruzé 1995: 1. no. 43 (=ML 20). Translation in Graham 1983: 226–8.

[58] Cf. Asheri 1960. [59] Graham 1983: 68.

A Theran colonist following Battos to Kyrene expected, in Homeric terms, a successful *nostos,* like the *nostos* of Odysseus reaching not home but the safety of Phaiakia. In case of failure he could have returned home; on the other hand, citizens of the *mētropolis* could join the colony at a later date and 'shall have a share in citizenship and honours and shall be allotted a portion of the unoccupied land'.[60] This seems to express the same right in reverse, again, similar to the *nostos* pattern.

This bidirectional 'return' is expressed in the foundation decree of Kyrene.[61] If, after five years, the Theran colonists fail to settle in Libya, they are granted the right to return home. 'But if the *apoikoi* do not establish the settlement (*oikisia*) and the Therans are unable to help them and they suffer inescapable troubles up to five years (alternatively: after a minimum of five years, which seems more likely) let them return from that land without fear to Thera, to their possessions and to be citizens.'[62]

This is as explicit as it could be: a right to return and full reintegration. I wonder whether or not we need to see this as strictly collective: namely, all colonists may return en bloc in case of failure. Or was the right also applicable to specific groups or even individuals? The question needs raising because the parallel stipulation, that Therans may come later and join Kyrene, refers to individuals:[63] 'if the colonists (*apoikoi*) establish the settlement (*oikisia*), any of their fellow-citizens (*tōn oikeiōn*) who later sails to Libya shall have a share in the citizenship (*politeia*) and honours (*tīmai*) and shall be allotted a portion of the unoccupied land.'

Those claiming the inscription was a fourth-century forgery[64] basically rely on a *cui bono* argument: Since, in the fourth century, some Therans wished to become fully-integrated citizens of Kyrene (citizenship, political offices, *tīmai*, and land) the precedent of the foundation decree had been invented. But that argument ignores not only the *reciprocal nature* of the right of return but also one intervening event of the late sixth century, when many Kyrenaians did in fact return to Thera.

[60] *SEG* 9.3.32–3.

[61] *SEG* 9.3, cf. ML 5, van Effenterre and Ruzé 1995: 1. no. 41, pp. 170–3.

[62] *SEG* 9.3.36–7: the Greek of the last part is *ἐκ τᾶς γᾶς ἀπίμ[εν] ἀδιέως Θήρανδε ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτῶγ χρήματα καὶ ἦμεμ πολιάτας.*

[63] *SEG* 9.3.31–4. [64] Osborne 2009: 8–17.

Around 520 BCE the king of Kyrene, Arkesilaos III, dispatched his enemies to be killed in Cyprus. This would have been around eighty years after the death of Battos I. They were rescued by some people of Knidos and were sent to Thera, Kyrene's mother city, where they were accepted.[65] Note that both Thera, Kyrene, and Knidos were interrelated as *apoikiai* of Sparta, and Knidos in fact shared *sungeneia*, kinship, with Thera.[66] It is against this backround that we may begin to understand the reciprocity of all *oikeioi* involved: a potential or actual 'return' to 'two homes', the *mētropolis* and the *apoikia*. That is why there is nothing anachronistic about the reverse direction mentioned in the fourth century: Kyrene was founded in the late seventh century; in the fourth century Theran *oikeioi* arrived in Kyrene and were given Kyrenaian citizenship, just as earlier, in the late sixth century, Kyrenaians had returned to Thera.

Direct personal links among family members in mother cities and colonies is most apparent in Korinthian colonization, where Kypselids also served as founders of the Korinthian colonies: Leukas, Ambrakia, and Anaktorion (founded by sons of Kypselos) and the son of Periandros, Euagoras, was the oikist of Potidaia.[67] Kerkyra, founded earlier than these, apparently remembered the family members of their founder, Archias. It accepted the sub-community of the Bakchiad refugees from Korinth (consisting probably of the aristocrats and their bands) who, escaping from Kypselos, found refuge there.[68]

A more collective level is implied in the acceptance of the refugees from Phokaia in Alalia (Corsica) and probably (although this is only an inference) at Massalia.[69] We also hear of other cases in the Archaic period: Rhodians sent more settlers to Gela about a century after its foundation;[70] Herodotus says that when Sybaris was destroyed by Kroton in 511 its inhabitants found refuge in its colonies, Laos and

[65] Hdt. 4.164.1.

[66] Hdt. 1.174.2. Knidos also intervened with Sparta's colony in Italy, Taras, on behalf of the Persian king Dareios to release the exile Gillos 'because the Knidians were their special friends, *φίλοι μάλιστα*', Hdt. 3.138.1. *συγγένεια*: *IG* 12. 3.322. See the discussion in Malkin 1994a: 80–2.

[67] Graham 1983: 118–53. Leukas: Strabo 10.2.8 (452) (Gorgos, son of Kypselos); Nik. Dam. *FGrHist* 90 F 59; Ambrakia: Ps. Scymn. 453f.; Strabo *loc. cit.*; Anaktorion: Strabo *loc. cit.*; Nik. Dam. *loc. cit.* (the name he gives is Echiades); Potidaia: Nik. Dam. *FGrHist*. 90 F 58.

[68] Nik. Dam. *FGrHist* 90 F 57.7. [69] Graham 1983: 113.

[70] Th. 6.4.4; with Dunbabin 1948: 64–6 and Graham 1983: 20–1.

Skidros.[71] Similarly, changes in the coinage of Poseidonia (another colony of Sybaris) have been interpreted as a kind of synoikism (civic merger) with the refugees of the mother city.[72]

The link between Teos and its *apoikia*, Abdera, provides an excellent illustration for the 'double home communities'. When the Persians invaded, says Herodotus, 'they (Teians) all embarked aboard ship and sailed away for Thrace. There they founded a city, Abdera, which before this had been founded by Timesios of Klazomenai; yet he got no profit of it, but was driven out by the Thracians. This Timesios is now honoured as a hero by the *Teians of Abdera.*'[73]

So far the direction is a one-way affair (Teos founds Abdera). However, after Teos had been destroyed it was apparently refounded by the *returning* Teians from Abdera.[74] This is a safe implication since Teos could provide seventeen ships for the battle of Lade.[75] Moreover, there is coinage: coins of both Teos and Abdera show precise similarity of the obverse side yet the griffin of Teos is turned to the right, that of Abdera to the left (Figures 4.1 and 4.2). The earliest coinage is almost contemporary, although that of Abdera seems earlier.[76]

Sets of *nomima,* those salient, 'objective' markers of a Greek *polis* (e.g. sacred calendar, nomenclature and type of magistracies, tribal divisions) appear identical or similar between Teos and Abdera: we find a council with jurisdiction over political crimes, magistrates called *timouchoi*, in both the *dēmos* (assembly) is called *xūnon*, and we hear of at least three identical festivals: the Anthesteria, Herakleia, and Dia. Both Teos and Abdera also appear to have a kind of ban against tyranny, expressed by means of the rejection of the office or function of *aisymnetes.*[77]

A fascinating inscription from Teos,[78] published in 1981 and probably dating to the mid fifth century (479–450), contains conditions for exile and banishment that apply to both *poleis*. We observe Teos legislating *for* Abdera, even though Abdera is much larger and

[71] Hdt. 6.21.1; with Graham 1983: 114 n. 2; Laos as a Sybarite colony: Strabo 6.1.1. (253); for Skidros, cf. Dunbabin 1948: 155–6.

[72] Graham 1983: 114. Abdera and Teos: 308 n. 168.

[73] Hdt. 1.168 (*Τηίων τῶν ἐν Ἀβδήροισι*).

[74] Strabo 14.1.30 (644).

[75] Hdt.6.8.1.

[76] Kraay 1976: 35; Graham 1992.

[77] ML 30 (O/R no. 102) for Teos; *SEG* 31.985 A22–24 for Abdera with Graham 2001 (cf. also *SEG* 31.984). See also the discussions in Mustaka 2004.

[78] *SEG* 31.985 side B lines 5–12, side C lines 1–4.

Fig. 4.1 Ionia, Teos AR Stater, *c.*478–449 BCE. Female griffin with curved wings crouching to right on semicircle and pellet ornamented base, left forepaw raised; panther's head below paw, THION around/Quadripartite incuse square. J. M. Balcer, The Early Silver Coinage of Teos, SNR 47 1968, 103; BMC 19. 11.68g, 24mm.

Source: CNG. By kind permission of Classical Numismatic Group, Inc.

Fig. 4.2 Thrace, Abdera AR Drachma, *c.*480–473/0 BCE (15mm, 3.13g). Hegesip-, magistrate. Η-ΓΕΣΙΠΙ, Griffin sitting left, raising right forepaw/ Quadripartite incuse square. Unpublished with this magistrate's name.

Source: CNG. By kind permission of Classical Numismatic Group, Inc.

is the *refounder* of Teos. Clearly this is no hegemony but a symbolic relation connecting the two homes. We find imprecations such as 'may he be destroyed [and banished] from Teos and Abdera and the land of Teos, both himself and his family'. Or '. . . he shall be exiled

and accursed from Teos and Abdera and from the land of both the Teians and of the Abderites, and his possessions shall be confiscated, and whoever kills him shall not be polluted.'

EXPATRIATES AND REFUGEES

The idea of 'return' and reintegration, so essential to the *nostos* theme, is paralleled in cases of readmittance of exiles. These give a better sense as to why a Greek colony was called an *apoikia*, even in a functional, literal sense. *Apoikos*, we remember, could mean also an exile and the terms of reintegration are remarkably similar.

An inscription from around 500 BCE concerning Lato in Krete and discovered in Gortyn, specifies that 'among those who have returned (?) whoever wishes may settle himself and become a citizen of Lato on equitable [or "complete"] and equal rights, and nobody may enslave him.'[79] Individuals are thus entitled to return (*katawoikidethai*, an *oikos*-related word) to their home community and reclaim full citizen rights. We may observe the similarity of the formulation in the foundation decree of Kyrene. There settlers may 'sail on fair and equal terms'.[80] One may infer that the same would apply to Therans exercising their 'right of return' in the reverse direction, to Kyrene (see above). By getting or reclaiming an *oikos* the returning exile or refugee would cease being an *ap-oikos*—the word we know better in its sense of colonist.

The reintegration of exiles seems to be the subject of a fragmentary inscription of *c.*500 BCE, placed at Olympia, which concerns Selinous in western Sicily.[81] This, too, involves *horkia* (agreements based on oath) on the part of the community of Selinous and, twice, the issue of the mother city, Megara, seems to be raised. The right to repossess one's property when returning from Megara to Selinous seems

[79] *IC* IV no. 78; van Effenterre and Ruzé 1995: 1. no. 16 lines 1–3: *Τάδ'ἔFαδε τοῖς Γορτυνίοις πσαπίδονσ*[ι- -]. *Τῶν ἀπελευ*[—|—κ]*α λἒι καταFοικίδεθαι Λατόσιον ἐπὶ τâι FίσFαι* [κ|*αὶ τ*]*âι ὁμοίαι* . . . The translation in the text above ('those who have returned') assumes the correctness, in lines 2–3, of the supplement *ἀπελευ*[*σάμενον Fοικάδε*] (*vel sim.*)] suggested, but not adopted, by van Effenterre and Ruzé.

[80] *SEG* 9.3. 27–8: *ἐπὶ τâι ἴσα*[ι κ]|*αὶ τâι ὁμοίαι πλέν* . . .

[81] *IvO* no. 22; van Effenterre and Ruzé 1995: 1. no.17 with Asheri 1979, whose interpretation I follow; cf. Graham 1983: 112–13.

evident. Apparently it went both ways, a double right of return: aside from the right granted to a person to return to Selinous and become a full citizen yet again, what is noteworthy is that a man from Selinous, who was a colonist of Megara Hyblaia, apparently enjoyed some right of return (or asylum?) at his own mother city, before being granted the right to return to Selinous once more.[82]

The relationships among a mother city, a colony, and a colony of a colony (Korinth, Kerkyra, and Epidamnos) provide the context for the acrimonious discussion about the rights and wrongs of the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War.[83] We are well into the Classical period (the second half of the fifth century), but the accepted norms and frameworks of colony and mother city relations that serve as the basis for various claims and arguments go back to the Archaic era. The context is especially significant, since while both sides wish to discredit the other, the points on which they overlap seem more securely traditional.

Epidamnos was settled in the late seventh century (the date given by Eusebius is 627), about one hundred years after Kerkyra; Thucydides says that Kerkyra was its mother city, and that when founding Epidamnos Kerkyra invited a co-founder from Korinth, Kerkyra's own mother city, 'according to the ancient custom (*nomos*)'.[84] His name was Phalios, a Bakchiad aristocrat (hence a descendant of Herakles), and thus probably from the same family of Chersikrates, the Korinthian founder of Kerkyra, and Archias, the Korinthian founder of Syracuse.[85] These family relations reveal that which usually eludes us: enduring family connections across the colonial divide.

When Epidamnos had been founded, the Bakchiadai were apparently exiles although the grandmother of Periandros, whose father had expelled the Bakchiadai, was a Bakchiad herself, which means that some Bakchiad-Herakleidai did remain in Korinth. Most of these Herakleid-Bakchiad refugees found asylum in Kerkyra, the city that had been founded by one of their own; now, in the fifth century, we have an official Korinthian venture, but the result is similar: family members going/coming to the colony.

[82] It is not clear whether Megara Hyblaia, the direct mother city of Selinous, or Megara Nisaia, *mētropolis* of Megara Hyblaia and the 'grandmother' of Selinous, is meant. If the latter (less likely) is acceptable, then my argument gets an even stronger validation.

[83] Th. 1.24–55 with Hornblower 2008: 66–97. [84] Th. 1.24.2.

[85] Th. 6.3.2; Strabo 6.2.4 (269), cf. Graham 1983: 220 n. 2.

We need to remember those personal familial connections of Phalios, probably with some Kerkyraians, while envisaging the scene of the exiled Epidamnians at their direct mother city, Kerkyra, pointing to the tombs of their family members, and calling for help.[86] A web of blood connections usually eludes us but it is there all the same. It would seem, therefore, that the notion of a 'bidirectional *oikos*' (and we should not forget issues of inheritance) must have been alive among many settler families, and that *oikos* has both the concrete sense of the household which the settlers personally had left, and the extended sense of the larger home community of which they were *apoikoi*.

What also permeates all this is a sense of fairness and equal opportunity that is implied in the projected integration in a new colony or in reintegration upon return. Once the Korinthians are recognized as the mother city of Epidamnos instead of Kerkyra they make a Panhellenic announcement: 'they announced an *apoikia* to Epidamnos, saying that *whoever so wished* might go there on a basis of equal rights for all,' (lit. 'on equal and like terms').[87] Such 'equal and like terms' exist also in the foundation decrees of Kyrene, Naupaktos, and in the fourth-century foundation decree of Black Kerkyra in the Adriatric.[88]

In the Naupaktos decree we find the same phenomenon in the reverse direction: it is the colonist returning home who has 'equal and like' rights. This is a mirror image of the colonist setting out, and illustrates how the act of settlement was perceived in terms of communal belonging both at the home community and in the colony. We have also seen it in the decree concerning Lato: 'among those who have returned whoever wishes may settle himself and become a citizen of Lato on equitable [or complete] and equal rights' (see above).

A home community involves those with whom you worship,[89] and cult often appears as a criterion of citizenship. Somehow citizens of both mother city and colony were perceived as belonging to the same cult community, which may explain the relative lack of proxeny decrees among *mētropoleis* and *apoikiai* (proxenies are by definition

[86] Th. 1.26.3.

[87] Th. 1.27.1: *καὶ ἅμα ἀποικίαν ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον ἐκήρυσσον ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ τὸν βουλόμενον ἰέναι.*

[88] *Syll.*[3] 141.

[89] Parker 2005: 37–45.

between unrelated *xenoi*).[90] The notion of a shared cultic community is emphasized when the Korinthians complain bitterly that they were denied a share 'in common meetings';[91] apparently they were not only denied participation in public sacrifices but were probably expecting to start them off.[92] So again, a perception of a home is bidirectional.

For their part the Kerkyraians emphasize standards of equality which they expect. That is how Thucydides expresses it: 'let them know that . . . every colony honours the mother city so long as it is well treated . . . for colonists are not sent out to be slaves to those who are left behind, but to be their equals (*homoioi*).'[93] This claim, too, stresses the assumption of 'commonness' of both mother city and colony.

CONCLUSIONS

From the eighth to the sixth centuries Greeks were sailing through vast maritime spaces, founding some four hundred city states along the shores of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Often *apoikiai* became mother cities (as we have just seen with Kerkyra).[94]

During the same time poets were reciting a variety of *nostoi* tales to the very same people who were creating a network of *mētropoleis* and *apoikiai*¸ a network that was based, in a very real sense, on notions of several homes and multidirectional links among them. The very real sense of blood relations together with its extended, metaphorical sense consolidated a mental framework of fragmented, non-adjoining territorial connectedness.

The idea of safe return, or *nostos,* was surely in their heads. Just as the *nostos* in the *Odyssey* could be multidirectional, so, too, was the contemporary world of *apoikiai* and, sometimes, exiles. The splitting up of the *oikos* and the *apoikos* could happen inside a *polis* as well as outsde it: a son marrying and starting his new *oikos* without moving out of the community would be an *apoikos* of sorts, as his wife certainly was; a son departing and starting his *oikos* overseas was a

[90] This is my inference from Mack 2015: 286–361.

[91] *πανηγύρεσι ταῖς κοιναῖς*.

[92] Hornblower 2008, rightly following Burkert, *ad* Th. 1.25.4. Cf. Graham 1983: 161–4; Jim 2013: 537–42.

[93] Th. 1.34.1. [94] Lombardo and Frisone 2009; Costanzi 2010.

son nonetheless, with some right of return, expressed in both personal and communal terms. Conversely, more emigrants from the home community may join an *apoikia*, another 'home' at a later stage.

A multidirectional notion of return was therefore expressed, within the same period, both in poetic *Nostoi* and in practices and articulations of the rights of return. I have tried to reconstruct the mindset that allowed for both the historical, the poetic, and the metaphoric to overlap. These people knew their Homer and sometimes projected the geography of *nostoi* onto colonial topography and ethnography. The idea of a *nostos* involved maritime crossing, contacts with alien peoples, reaching safely one's destination—wherever that might be—and mostly a homecoming and reintegration. The idea of an *apoikia* is parallel and complementary, usually involving crossing the sea, contacts with alien peoples, reaching safely one's destination, accomplishing a new settlement, and expecting more to come from home and join the other, related home.

5

Nostoi as Heroic Foundations in Southern Italy

The Traditions about Epeios and Philoktetes

Guglielmo Genovese
Translated by Genevieve Carver

The *nostoi* phenomenon is centred on sea voyages and the return from Troy of a series of characters who are well integrated into the larger spectrum of travelling heroes.[1] The *nostoi* traditions create a picture of the ancient Mediterranean as a zone of cultural cross-fertilization which preceded historical colonization.[2]

A very large imaginary world emerges from the traditions about *nostoi,* with links and meetings between a multitude of peoples. During this time various Mediterranean and Hellenic groups were attempting to satisfy a need for multiple identities that were often difficult or impossible to acquire.[3] Such identities were particularly useful when one group was confronted with other groups who used the same Mediterranean routes as the Greeks and were able to develop alternative strategies alongside and in competition with them.[4] The concept of

[1] In general on the Mediterranean Sea: Gras 1985. More specifically: Malkin 1998a; Lane Fox 2009 (for 'travelling heroes'); Hall 2014: 1–49.

[2] Hall 2004; Wilson 2006; Lane Fox 2009; Giangiulio 2010; Yntema 2011; Malkin 2011; Hall 2015: 51–74. Specifically on the colonization of Magna Grecia see Guzzo 2011: 21–69; La Torre 2011: 5–54; and Greco and Lombardo 2012: 37–46.

[3] Hall and Morgan 1996: 211–15; Morgan 1999; Horden and Purcell 2000; Lomas 2004: 1–14; Malkin 2005; Hall 2014: 51–60.

[4] Nijboer 2011a and 2011b; Crielaard 2012: 135–52; Ridgway 2012: 259–69; Hall 2014: 1–29. Specifically on the Phoenicians: Guarnieri 2015.

hospitality carried much weight as a basic element of civilization; it shaped relationships and connections during the time of the pioneers, when many innovations and opportunities were opening up across the Mediterranean.[5]

If a Dark Age existed, it would be necessary to understand its true chronological range and the impact it had on defining the precolonial and colonial landscapes that followed.[6] Everything happened in the shadow of events shrouded in mythology, but it seems that that cultural turmoil, which had always been present along the Mediterranean coasts, was never absent.[7]

In order to understand the situation, the results of recent research being undertaken in the Euboian, Levantine, and Phoenician areas must be taken into account.[8] The *nostoi* stories are indicative of processes of mobility, and are best seen as mythical archetypes for colonial foundations.[9]

Two distinct stages can be identified in the colonial process. The first was a preparatory phase, in which precolonial heroes marked out areas of interest, while the second was a phase of executive action, in which specific locations were chosen to become foundation sites. The second stage is well attested by both archaeology and historical sources, but there is no such evidence for the first at all. The only way to define the initial phase of reorganization and intercultural mobility preceding the eighth century BCE is by examining multiculturalism, connectivity, networks, and Middle Ground, as has been done in studies by Anglo-Saxon scholars.[10] This, however, means abandoning concepts of cultural supremacy and the hypervaluation of ethnic identity, which are anachronistic for this period.[11] Hybridization

[5] Crielaard 2009: 349–60; Genovese 2009: 13–23; Crielaard 2012: 145–52; Ridgway 2012: 259–67; Hall 2014: 75–85; Genovese 2016, 43–9.

[6] Duplouy 2012: 103–4, 111–16; Crielaard 2012: 151–2; Kourou 2012: 161–77; Ridgway 2012: 263–9.

[7] Gras, Rouilland, and Teixidor 2000: 90–138; De Vido 2013: 67–87; Hall 2014: 75–99.

[8] Mazarakis Ainian 2012; Ridgway 2007: 144–7; Kourou 2012: 172–7; D'Agata 2013: 3–12; De Vido 2013: 67–87; Hall 2015: 1–27.

[9] Malkin 1998a: 210–32. Interesting comments in de Lachenal 2007: 70–1; see also Brocato 2014: 50–1 and 2015: 23–7, 36–8.

[10] Purcell 2003; Malkin 2005 and 2011; Malkin, Constantakopoulou, and Panagopoulou 2009b.

[11] Guzzo 2011: 219–41; La Torre 2011: 50–63; Torelli 2011: 5–24; Vanzetti 2009: 189–94.

should instead be considered the fundamental basis of the precolonial and the initial phases of the colonial phases.

Recent debate has focused on certain suggestions by Osborne, which were perhaps overly critical of the use of the terms 'colonization' and 'foundation'. Osborne's criticism was undoubtedly intended as an impetus for examining more closely the true relationship between homeland and colonial expeditions during this Archaic phase, when literary sources cannot be relied on.[12] The lack of written sources also makes it difficult to construct theories about such complex and nuanced themes as Mediterranean mobility and foundations, since information is missing regarding the many components that affected and influenced the inception and development of new realities and identities.[13]

Both Hellenocentric and what might be called 'indigenous-centric' interpretative approaches such as 'hard' or 'soft' colonization are best avoided, even if used with quotation marks, since the reality is totally different.[14] Greek cultural components are all too often considered insignificant, and are valued as weak only on the basis of how they contrast with Greek cultural models, which are viewed as strong.[15] The 'colonial process' needs to be rethought: it should be seen as a consequence of human exchanges and as a realization of ideas and intentions. The birth of an *apoikia* such as Pithekoussai is emblematic of such processes, and demonstrates Euboian skills and enterprise.[16]

This study is focused on two culturally homologous and geographically contiguous *nostoi* which concern southern Italy (see Figure 5.1), and are archetypes of cultural integration. The *nostos* of Philoktetes is the principal source, and that of Epeios is secondary.[17] The former relates to a cult of Apollo, the latter to a cult of Athena. Both Apollo and Athena were gods worshipped by a large part of the Mediterranean population, including but not only Greeks and Trojans.[18]

[12] Osborne 1998: 269, but see Greco 2005; Greco 2008: 19–32; Greco and Lombardo 2012: 41–52, and Malkin 2016.

[13] Genovese 1999: 127–53, 2009: 15–23, and 2016: 39–45; Kleibrink 2003: 14–15.

[14] Burgers 2004; Dietler 2005: 57–8, 67–8; Owen 2005: 5–17; Malkin 2005; van Dommelen 2005. See also Greco and Lombardo 2012: 39–52.

[15] Genovese 1999: 127–53; Kleibink 2003: 13–16; Genovese 2009: 16–19; Genovese 2016: 40–2.

[16] Nizzo 2007: 29–32; Lane Fox 2008; D'Agostino 2010; Kourou 2012: 161–77; Ridgway 2012: 263–9; De Vido 2013: 88–97.

[17] Genovese 2001: 650–1; 2009: 22–3, 98–110; Malkin 1998b.

[18] Nafissi 2000: 281–2; Barbanera 2005: 372–5, 376–80; Hall 2014: 75–7.

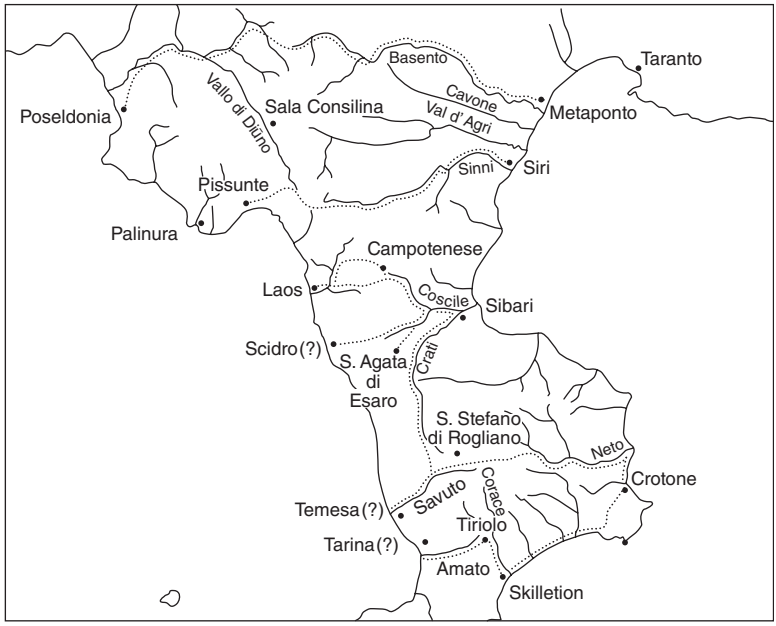

Fig. 5.1 Topographical map of the Ionian coast of southern Italy.
From Russi 1997, with permission of the author.

These two narratives are atypical, being of Achaian background and concerning protagonists who were not warriors. Philoktetes was a shepherd who, on the instructions of Apollo, killed Paris with an arrow, while Epeios was a water-bearer and carpenter who, inspired by Athena, built the Trojan Horse. Both were present at Troy, and although they did not fight in the war, were the true instruments of its defeat and destruction.[19] After the destruction of Troy the two protagonists are united by the fact that their journeys ended in neighbouring parts of southern Italy, corresponding to the territories of Kroton and Sybaris in historical times, from where these traditions spread.[20]

There are important similarities—both archaeological and mythical—between two neighbouring areas, those that would become the territories of Siris and Metapontion in historical times.[21] The mythical

[19] Malkin 1998a: 210–25.
[20] Genovese 2009: 15–17, 98–105; 2012b; 2016: 39–49.
[21] Lambrugo 2005: Carter 2008: 93–8; Bianco, Giardino 2012; De Siena 2012; Osanna 2012: 17–29.

Trojan-Chonian city of Siris was similar to Troy. It had a temple to Athena Ilias and a simulacrum which defied the massacre of the Chonians by the men of Kolophon,[22] even though Strabo (6. 1. 14) describes a massacre similar in scale to that carried out by the Achaian Minoans during the destruction of Troy, with the violence that followed against Kassandra.[23] In other sources, such as Lykophron (*Alex.* 984–92) and Justin (20. 2. 3–9), it was the Achaians who destroyed Siris due to an atavistic hatred of the Trojans. This idea of a strong ethnic motive will be returned to later.

Also of note is Metapontion, which is geographically last but by no means least. Here the historical sources recount the *nostos* of wise old Nestor, another ancient mythical figure linked to Troy.[24]

These precolonial memories all appear to relate to the same epic cycle, and share the essential feature of being based on an outwardly peaceful figure, whose main attribute is a willingness to engage in dialogue. In each case when the hero arrives in the new territory he lays down his own arms, thereby consecrating the spaces that become sacred by virtue of this act of dedication.[25]

These *nostoi* are also connected to other pilgrims mentioned by Strabo as returning from Ilion and other parts of Italy, including the areas surrounding the mouths of the Nauaithos or Neaithos (mod. Neto) and Lamatos (mod. Amato) rivers in the territory of Kroton.[26] In both cases the Trojan women had got tired of travelling and burned the ships, and the Achaian-Minoan men had agreed to settle in the hills, establishing a series of Achaian-Trojan working settlements.[27]

Already in this period the literary sources present an interesting picture of the coexistence of mixed communities, settled on the heights above the coastal plains of the Ionian seaboard. Traces of these communities are to be found in centres such as Strongoli (Petelia), Le Murgie of Strongoli (Makalla), Cirò Marina (see Figure 5.2) and Cirò, in the territory of Kroton;[28] Torre Mordillo, Francavilla Marittima,

[22] Musti 1981; Cordano 2000: 62–3.

[23] Pugliese Carratelli 1996: 151; Lombardo 1998, 45–65; Cordano 2000: 61–4.

[24] Genovese 2009: 105–10. On the historical and mythical traditions about the Achaian colonies, and particularly Metapontion, see Mele 1995 and 1996; Giacometti 2005: 170–83. For Nestor see Fowler, this volume, p. 49 n. 20 and p. 53.

[25] Malkin 1998a: 210–23; Genovese 2010.

[26] Strabo 6. 1. 14; Spadea 2012: 721–37. On the Neaithos/Neaithos see above p. 50 and below p. 132.

[27] Lachenal 2007: 70; Genovese 2009: 25–30, 179–85.

[28] Genovese 1999: 70–2, 144–5 and 2009: 31–55.

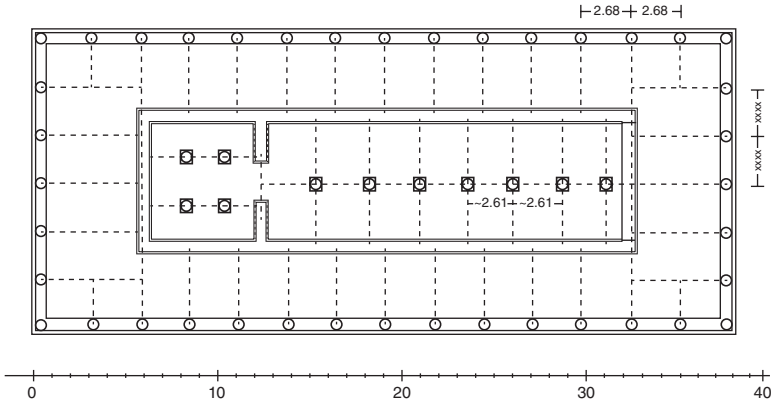

Fig. 5.2 Archaic temple of Cirò Marina.
From Genovese 2009.

and Amendolara, in the territory of Sybaris;[29] Policoro and Termitito in the territory of Siris;[30] and Incoronata and Andrisani in the territory of Metapontion.[31] Traditionally diametrically opposed groups—the Achaians, the Trojans, and the indigenous population—appear here to be coexisting and inhabiting the same locations.

The *nostoi* of Philoktetes and Epeios not only narrate the story of the Trojan War, but also seem to sanction a process of pacification at the very heart of the Oinotrian territories, whose plains and coast would be colonized by the Achaians in historic times, in symbiosis with non-Hellenic elements. The Greek colonies in South Italy can undoubtedly be seen as the heirs of those heroes who were victorious at Troy,[32] but it appears that they were installed in a totally peaceful manner, exploiting peripheral and marginal zones in various directions.[33] The myths of Philoktetes and Epeios can be seen as symbols of cultural interaction between various components throughout this Archaic phase, which lasted throughout the eighth and seventh centuries BCE, and continued into the sixth.[34]

[29] Genovese 1999: 29–54; Kleibrink 2003: 23–6; Genovese 2012b and 2016: 39–49. For a different view see Vanzetti 2009: 191–4.
[30] Bianco 2012. [31] Carter 2008: 98–125; De Siena 2012.
[32] Mele 2012: 307–19; Hall 2014: 51–73.
[33] Genovese 1999: 127–9; Kleibrink 2003: 23–6; Genovese 2009: 98–110 and 2016: 44–9; Brocato 2014: 48–51 and 2015: 36–8.
[34] Malkin 1998: 62–80; Genovese 2001: 586–92, 2009: 25–30, 2010: 15–21, 2012a: 49–53, and 2016: 46–7.

Precolonial and colonial action could be achieved only with the help and participation of a variety of ethnic components, and rarely would an *apoikia* be defined on the basis of ethnic identity alone, especially in the initial phases. It is more likely that anyone who had the will and a basic level of pre-existing knowledge was able to participate.[35] Questioning whether the historical sources contradict such traditions about the establishment of the *apoikiai* may create unnecessary problems, since it is better to try and understand how written references to early foundations relate to the processes that led up to them.[36]

The historical sources mention Rhodian immigrants in the Achaian colonies, to cite one example of how different groups contributing to the foundation of colonies were defined on ethnic grounds.[37] (See above, Introduction, 28.)

The historical sources often note the heterogeneity of the members of the *apoikiai,* making it difficult to distinguish Greeks from non-Greeks on the basis of ethnicity alone. It is therefore of little use to try to understand the contrast between Greek populations and the ill-defined indigenous and Italic populations for which only ephemeral identity characteristics are hinted at by the written sources for this period.[38] To do so would amount to forcing the historical sources and archaeological evidence without obtaining any concrete information regarding the first colonial phase.[39]

The coexistence of ethnic groups is supported by archaeological evidence from recent research in all four areas examined here, with similar signs of hybridization occurring across the hilltop centres. The most intensive studies of mixed populations have been carried out in recent years in the areas of Metapontion and Siris, but more nuanced interpretations of the pre-existing information regarding the territories of Kroton and Sybaris could result in important insights there, too.[40]

[35] Hall 2008: 402–5; Giangiulio 2010; Malkin 2011.

[36] Osborne 1998; Hall 2008; Giangiulio 2010; Greco and Lombardo 2012: 44–9; Hall 2014: 51–73.

[37] Carter 2008: 48–50; Ridgway 2012: 260–9.

[38] Nafissi 1985; Genovese 2012a: 16–17.

[39] Kleibrink 2003: 13–16; Carter 2008: 93–8; Ridgway 2012: 267–9; Genovese 2016: 46–9.

[40] On the territory of Sybaris see Kleibrink 2003; De Lachenal 2007; Kleibrink 2010; Jacobsen and Handberg 2012; on the territory of Kroton see Spadea 2012 and 2014. See further Genovese 1999: 69–82 and 2009: 25–53.

Securing the close and above all peaceful relationship between the Achaians, the Oinotrians, and the Trojans in these territories during the precolonial era is precisely the agenda of the myth of Philoktetes.[41] It is no coincidence that he is recognized as the founder of precolonial sanctuaries and settlements that were fundamentally based on a mixture of different elements.[42]

The most important factor for understanding the relationships at play preceding the foundation of the Greek, indigenous, and Trojan *apoikiai* in Achaia is therefore the knowledge that the Greeks in the eighth century BCE must have possessed about their Mycenaean past, and about the link between the Mycenaeans and the Oinotrians. The geography of the indigenous world during the long precolonial period, and specifically the marked preference for the uplands on the part of both the indigenous Oinotrians and the Chonians, are revealed by both the literary sources and archaeological evidence.[43]

The large and flat coastal areas were of poor quality, due to being exposed to the elements and subject to frequent flooding, and were therefore not favoured by local groups. The arrival of Greek peoples and technologies would bring about the symbiotic development of the coasts through a mixture of indigenous and Hellenic settlements.[44]

The non-Greek populations cited in this area include the Oinotrians and Chonians, to whom extraordinary importance is attributed by the historical sources,[45] which attest a well-organized and fixed structure of elites.[46] It is no coincidence that all the sources agree the Oinotrians to be among the oldest populations of Italy, who arrived by sea from Arkadia a good seventeen generations before the Trojan War. Therefore they clearly had a strong affinity with Greece, but the links between the Arkadian world and the mythical memories of Troy, which after the Trojan War pervaded the mountainous regions of Greece, appear to be equally well established.[47] The Chonians, on the

[41] Genovese 2009: 88–94 and 2013; Greco 2011: 161–7.

[42] Genovese 1999: 188–92 and 2001: 619–48; Nafissi 2001: 282; Barbanera 2006: 376–8; Genovese 2009: 56–94; Genovese and Colugnati 2014.

[43] Genovese 1999: 127–38 and 2009: 91–110; Brocato 2014: 25–36 and 2015: 23–53.

[44] Genovese 2009: 16–23; Brocato 2015: 36–8.

[45] Nafissi 1985; Genovese 2012a: 15–17.

[46] Genovese 1999: 127–48; Kleibrink 2003: 13–37; Carter 2008: 93–126; Genovese 2009: 16–23, 98–108; Ridgway 2012: 261–9; Genovese 2016.

[47] Lentano 2013: 132–43.

other hand, were directly connected to Troy and to the centre of Chones, which was founded by Philoktetes, and therefore to Siris and the Chaones of Chaonia in Epirus. This provides a link to the Trojan legends derived from Helen and Andromache, who founded a little Troy in Epirus.[48]

Now that the context in which the mythical events of Philoktetes and Epeios took place has been characterized, the impact that these legends had on the settlement of the Ionian coast can be examined. Philoktetes is also cited in relation to the foundation of Egesta in Sicily, in an evidently secondary saga. It is significant that he was the owner of Herakles' bow and arrow, and undoubtedly his laying down of arms at Krimisa, which probably corresponds to present-day Punt'Alice, allowed for the creation of mixed communities in this area, as indigenous, Greek, and Trojan communities were integrated under the name of Philoktetes and the sanctuary of Apollo Alaios.[49]

The phase following the mythical destruction of Troy resulted in survivors and fugitives mixing in an extraordinary process of dialogue and interaction between different and previously opposed communities. Those crossing the sea found safety and resources for creating new communities and even new identities. Moreover, in the Greek mythological tradition the Trojan War was nothing more than a clash between variegated armies made up of troops coming from all parts of the Aegean on one side, and from across the eastern areas on the other.[50]

The sacred area that Philoktetes founded with the offerings of a bow and patera was dedicated to Apollo Alaios, god of pilgrimages with more eastern than Greek connotations. He was venerated in a mixed context, shared from the beginning by many different groups.[51]

The same simple scheme appears to have been in place in all the areas studied here, but in the territories of Kroton and Sybaris, as well as in those of Siris and Metapontion, mythical elements and heroic figures of the Trojan War were deliberately selected so as to allow for interaction between Greek groups and Oinotrian and Chonian elites.[52] The written sources distinguish between the *Oinotrioi* and

[48] Cabanes 2002; Lentano 2013: 137.

[49] Orsi 1932; Malkin 1998a: 210–33; Genovese 2001: 649–67 and 2012a.

[50] Hall 2008: 17–31.

[51] For Philoktetes' dedication at the temple of Apollo Alaios of the bow which he had received from Herakles see [Ar.] *de mir. ausc.* 107. Cf. also Justin 20. 1. 16, with different details. See Genovese 2009: 77–90.

[52] De Siena 2002: 40, 43–6.

the *Chonioi*, maintaining that they are distinct groups although not explaining the specific differences.[53]

The presence of materials fundamental to these legends demonstrates the strength of the bond between the Achaians and other groups. This bond is connected to ancient memories, with the result that both locals and foreigners were conscious of participating in the construction of identity profiles that were validated by a process of mutual respect, in which the return of the heroes functioned as a paradigm. The arrival of Philoktetes and Epeios in apparently marginal contexts demonstrates that the choice was a dual decision by both the Greek and non-Greek elites. From this point of view the Oinotrians were proto-Greeks, the Achaians were Greeks, and the Chonians were descendants of Trojans.[54]

Philoktetes was therefore able to organize and determine the occupation of the upland territories following the establishment of the sanctuary of Apollo Alaios. Although a stratigraphic excavation has never been undertaken and so evidence is very scarce, the third response of the oracle to Myskellos regarding the foundation of Kroton indicates that the sanctuary relates to sacred Krimisa. Much prominence is given to the sacredness of Krimisa, in comparison to the Lakinian promontory, which is not mentioned as sacred at all. This makes it clear that Krimisa was a precolonial holy place, while Capo Lacinio became sacred only in colonial times, with the foundation of the *Heraion* (sanctuary of Hera) of the same name.[55] Following the foundation of the sanctuary of Alaios, Philoktetes would be involved in defining the settlement nuclei whose purpose was to legitimize the union between Greek, indigenous, and Trojan components, giving rise to a kind of precolonization across the four upland centres close to the coast: Chone, Petelia, Krimisa, and Makalla.

These centres demarcate the path of Philoktetes, as described in Lykophron's *Alexandra* (911–29), which in recounting the prophecy of Kassandra illustrates the topography of the area in which he moved and died, beginning at Krimisa.[56] His memory was kept particularly green at Makalla, which corresponds to the area of Le Murgie di Strongoli today, but according to Lykophron his tomb could be seen from the Krathis river in the Sybaris zone, confirming the impression in the written sources that he was considered a great

[53] Nafissi 1985.
[54] Genovese 2009: 171–2 and 2012a: 22–3.
[55] Giangiulio 1989.
[56] Genovese 2009: 91–4.

hero by the Sybarites also.[57] Veneration for this character was prevalent throughout the coastal areas, in a way that reclaimed and remodelled the myth of Philoktetes by linking it with Thourioi and the power of Athens.

The myths of Philoktetes and Epeios, in their first manifestation, were therefore not linked to a single city and even less to a particular aristocratic group, but rather to a community seeking to define their primordial character through the mixture of elements they were made up of. The legends can therefore be seen as myths of origin,[58] which allowed them to be shared by anyone who wished to identify with them.

The value of the *nostoi* of Philoktetes and Epeios is linked not so much to the initial foundation of settlements, as to the complex process of aggregating different cultural elements and enabling their coexistence, even those that were originally opposed.[59]

The myth of Epeios has a value complementary to that of Philoktetes, since it is strongly linked to pre-Greek Sybaris and Metapontion, and to areas with Oinotrian presence such as Francavilla Marittima and other Oinotrian centres along the Ionian coast as far as Taras.[60] At Francavilla Marittima, the sanctuary of Timpone della Motta, as well as the necropolis and habitation which were uncovered by systematic excavations, all provide evidence on the situation.[61] A hybrid relationship is evident in this precolonial context between indigenous, Achaian, and Trojan elements. The site is linked to a female divinity with connotations of fertility and the reproductive cycle, following the Aegean-Anatolian model, and in colonial times this divinity becomes recognizable as a version of Athena with characteristics that are well represented in Oenotria and pave the way for artisanal production (see Figure 5.3).[62]

The goddess can be recognized as Athena Ergane, but also as *Eilenia,*[63] recalling ancient traditions including Mycenaean echoes such as the labyrinth and hierogamy, as well as Trojan and Achaian memories. The cult of Epeios the carpenter may be attested in the

[57] de Lachenal 2007: 70–1.
[58] Genovese 2009: 98–110.
[59] Genovese 2009: 105–8.
[60] Kleibrink 2003: 102–5.
[61] Kleibrink 2003: 41–81; de Lachenal 2007: 17–59, 72–5; Kleibrink 2010: 17–73, 87–94; Jacobsen and Handberg 2010; Genovese 2012b.
[62] Zancani Montuoro 1974–6: 93–106; Kleibrink 2003: 23–37; Genovese 2009: 134–50.
[63] *Εἰλενία*, [Ar.] *de mir. ausc.* 109.

Fig. 5.3 Terracotta figurine called 'The Lady of Sybaris' from Francavilla Marittima.

© De Agostini Picture Library/age fotostock.

cenotaph tomb at Cicolo Reale, as well as at the necropolis of Macchiabate at Francavilla Marittima, and in the sacred spaces dedicated to a goddess of the loom at Timpone. The importance and prosperity of the mixed community at Francavilla Marittima is evident in both the sanctuary and the necropolis. These two main areas

are unequivocal markers of the persistence of Mediterranean contact during the preceding phase in which Sybaris was founded.[64]

In both the sacred area and necropolis, there is a notable presence of intercultural material, demonstrating a continuation of memories regarding the Trojan epics. Female figurines, whose skirts are decorated with scenes from the Trojan cycle, are to be dated to the middle of the eighth century BCE. The main scene depicts Aias carrying the body of Achilles on his back, an iconography well known in both the colonial and Greek worlds. The same motif appears on the handle of the François vase.[65] A contemporary fragment found at San Biagio alla Venella depicts the procession of warriors from Francavilla, with a fully armed hero riding on a chariot driven by a charioteer, further demonstrating the connection between Trojan myth and the southern Italian Ionian coast. The importance of these fragments lies in their similarity, and in the case of Francavilla Marittima the names of Patroklos and Achilles are visible at the bottom of the frieze, evoking the Trojan War. And from the sanctuary of San Biagio at Metapontion there is a black figure lekythos depicting Achilles trying to ambush Polyxena, again demonstrating a predilection for Trojan scenes.[66]

Architectural terracotta friezes dated to the first quarter of the sixth century BCE depict scenes of sacred processions of women behind a chariot. These are present at Metapontion and Siris as well as at Francavilla Marittima, and Horn and Kleibrink have suggested that they relate to a cult of Athena based in the colonial areas, in which Siris was seen as a city analogous to Troy.[67]

Intercultural scenes and a focus on imagery related to events at Troy were already present at Pithekoussai—for example, in an amphora depicting Aias carrying the body of Achilles, Nestor's cup (Figure 5.4) and a crater depicting a shipwreck (Figure 5.5). However, here the mythical elements appear in a random, disorganized, and heterogeneous way. By contrast, in the Achaian colonies everything appears to have been planned in a well-designed scheme, with the specific aim of achieving the peaceful cohabitation of Greek and non-Greek groups. It appears that a process of mythical evolution was taking

[64] Kleibrink 2003; Jacobsen and Hanberg 2010.
[65] Genovese 1999: 33–5 and 2009: 101–2; Kleibrink 2010: 106–7.
[66] Kleibrink 2010: 106, 110–11; De Siena 2002: 42.
[67] Mertens-Horn 1992; Kleibrink 2010: 106, 110; Kleibrink and Weistra 2013.

Fig. 5.4 'Nestor's Cup' from Ischia (ML 1).

Drawing from L. H. Jeffery, rev. A. W. Johnston (1961/1990), *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*; Plate 47. By permission of OUP and Alan W. Johnston.

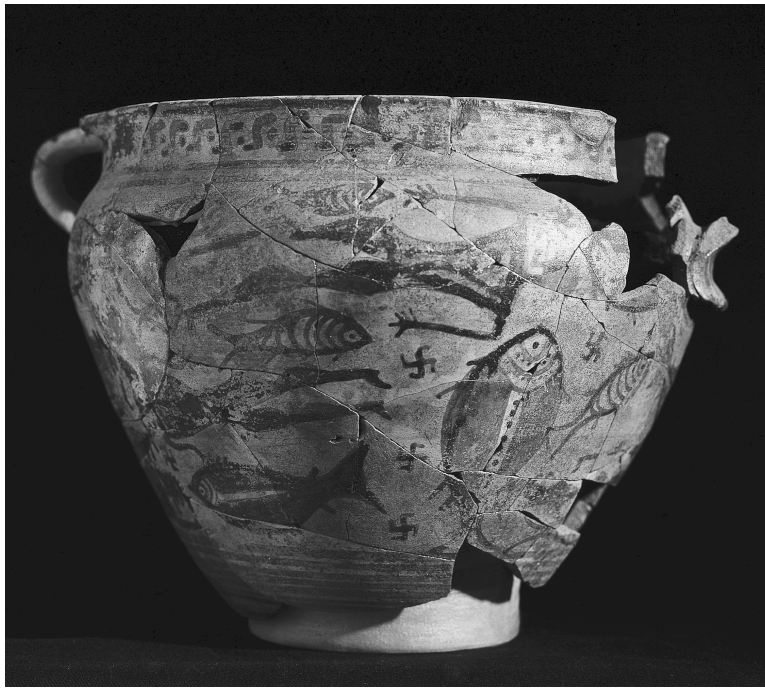

Fig. 5.5 The 'Shipwreck krater' from Ischia.

© De Agostini Picture Library/age fotostock.

place, in which, after the most important images had been chosen, they became symbolic, in a scheme that worked because it was shared by all the groups who used the symbols.

The ethnic identity of the settlers was evidently not a major problem in the ancient Mediterranean, particularly not in the precolonial phase

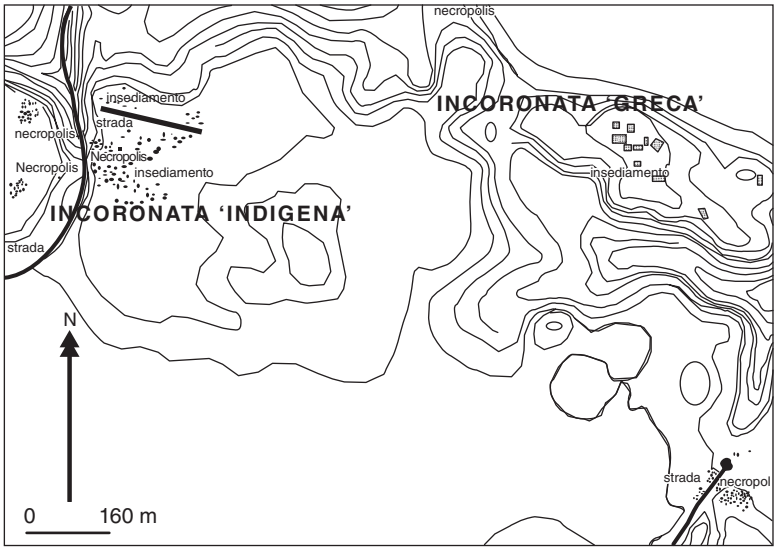

Fig. 5.6 Archaeological map of Incoronata.
From Kleibrink 2003, with permission of the author.

and during the initial birth of the *apoikiai*. In this phase it was more important to share the heroic models and traditions of a common past that could be seen in symbiosis with others, especially if it is possible to define them as agents of pacification between opposing groups, highlighting new opportunities brought by social interaction, and by intellectual and cultural connections.

The result was that the whole length of the Ionian coast was heavily settled with mixed settlements dating between the ninth and eighth centuries BCE, the oldest of which were in the territories of Kroton and Sybaris.[68] Following these was Incoronata, which has become the most celebrated example because it has been studied in the greatest detail (see Figure 5.6). A similar situation can be seen in Siris, where the peaceful interaction of different ethnic groups has became increasingly clear.[69]

Kleibrink has noted the mixed production of ceramics of Greek origin at Francavilla Marittima[70], as is also the case in the Kroton region.[71] The Ionian influence here is evident, but as the literary sources

[68] Genovese 2009: 98–104.
[69] Carter 2008: 93–134; Osanna 2012.
[70] Kleibrink 2010: 95–102; Jacobsen and Handberg 2010.
[71] Sabbione 1984; Tomay 2005; Mittica 2012.

point out, the centre of Sybaris played an important role as cultural mediator for the whole area from the beginning of the colonial period. This goes some way to explain the hierarchical and political structure mentioned in the written sources, possibly even indicating a Sybarite 'empire' which extended as far as the Tyrrhenian coast.[72] A reading of the mythology as pacificatory may explain the brief life of the Kolophon settlement of Polieion, and its subsequent destruction.

Because of earlier relationships, Metapontion would have known immediately to respect Siris, due to its pre-existing intercultural relationship with Sybaris, which appears to have acted as a mediator of processes of integration between Greek and non-Greek groups through the agency of myth.[73] It would be anachronistic to prescribe strict ethnic identities on the basis of cultural material, since the need to create ethnic identities came much later.[74] The idea of a pan-Achaian alliance defending territory against the Ionians appears unlikely and—again—completely anachronistic in the light of evidence from the seventh century BCE, especially given the mixed and diffused nature of the archaeological material, and the internal war between Kroton and Sybaris in *c.*510 BCE, which resulted in the destruction of the latter.

The interpretation offered here instead proposes functional collaboration between various human groups throughout all aspects of life, in particular in the sacred sphere. This can be seen especially clearly in contexts such as Cirò Marina, Francavilla Marittima, Siris, and Metapontion, which attest attempts to assert claims of cultic and cultural origins according to the needs of the moment.

Archaic representations of winged horses and chariots seen in reliefs from San Biagio at Venella and Francavilla Marittima as well as on the *perirrhanterion* from Incoronata display mythic imagery that may have belonged to the intellectual realm of the indigenous elites, and could have been truly understood only by them.[75] A *dinos* depicting Bellerophon at Incoronata dated to the first half of the seventh century further demonstrates that myth was the basis of coexistence between Greeks and non-Greeks, although as De Siena has pointed out, its importance has often been underestimated. The hero is Greek, but due to various twists of fate he is sent from Korinth to Lykia,

[72] Bugno 1999: 7–35; Genovese 2011.
[73] De Juliis 2001: 26–42; Carter 2008: 93–126.
[74] Hall 2014: 29–31, 57–8.
[75] Orlandini 1983: 353; De Siena 2002: 38–9.

where he settles after having defeated a chimaira, and his descendants end up fighting for the Trojans in the Trojan War.

The production of this vessel is clearly an example of colonial craftsmanship originating in a mixed settlement, and it is clear that certain vessels of particular significance, such as this one, or the *perirrhanterion* mentioned above, were instrumental in reinforcing intercultural relationships. The shared ownership of imagery and of the past enabled a state of affairs in which various human groups were able to cohabit on the basis of myths and rituals with a pacific function.

The *nostoi* of Philoktetes and Epeios therefore by nature lend themselves to the idea of a process of coexistence and cohabitation that worked because its origin lay in the sharing of myths at the elite level. The settlement model was constructed on the basis of memory, and long preceded the first Achaian foundations. When these foundations were established, they confirmed the significance of this memory by demonstrating marked respect towards the earlier places and spaces. The *nostoi* are a sign of engineered peaceful coexistence between Achaian Greeks and Trojan Chonians in the Oinotrian territories, achieved through respect for their roles and territories, which were viewed as sacred due to the perceived presence of particular divinities. It is no coincidence that the heart of the model of interaction is expressed by the two pacificatory heroes, whose existence sanctifies the work.[76]

Bacchylides's ode to Alexidamos (B. 11) shows that Metapontion remained strongly linked to a mythical past, even in the historical period. Moreover, at its birth this *apoikia* needed to gain strength from the memory of the fall of Troy, even more so than did Kroton or Sybaris. This is due to its situation between Taras to the north and Siris to the south, and because Metapontion more than any other Achaian colony was part of the process of peace-making between Achaia and Troy as mediated by Sybaris, and so it inherited the Siris experience.

To claim that a historical link did not exist between the Myceneans and the colonizers does not help us to understand the creation of the Achaian colonies in general, and of Metapontion in particular. The needs of the non-Greek components are a determining factor in this

[76] Genovese 2009: 105–9.

process, because these peoples participated first-hand in the various stages of evolution and enabled connections to be made to long-term cultural memory. This memory formed the basis of relations between Mycenaean-Achaians and the Trojan-indigenous in Oinotria.

The reworking of the past took the form of an attempt to situate events in mythical time; it gave rise to a genealogy that was used to create charter myths. Mythical events were manipulated later, especially when the legends became useful for political ends, a process detectable from as early as the sixth century BCE, but this is another phase. There is an important trend in the historical period, especially in the Metapontion area, of elaboration of events linked to the heroes of Troy and to rebels such as Neoptolemos and Aineias. Periklean propaganda undoubtedly provided useful elements for creating alliances with Athens, but this was possible only thanks to a pre-existing basis of widespread and deeply rooted mythology. In the case of the Achaian and Oinotrian-Chonian areas, it was not necessary to create genealogies attributing noble origins to Italic populations, but rather to resume the themes referred to in the *nostoi* traditions and reminiscent of the phase in which the *apoikiai* were founded, when non-Greeks were well known. These most ancient memories were deeply ingrained in the common psyche and could never be forgotten by anyone who had been a part of the process. Finally, it seems that a series of mythical events emerged from the Achaian *nostoi* and from the relationship between the Arkadian-Oinotrians and Chonian-Trojan Siris, which in turn lead to new configurations involving Aineias and Evander, but that is another story.[77]

[77] A famous dictum of Walter Burkert sums up the approach taken in the present chapter: 'The myth is a traditional tale with secondary, partial reference to something of collective importance' (Burkert 1979: 23).

I am grateful to Simon Hornblower and Giulia Biffis for inviting me to Oxford to present my ideas. I thank Selene Pacelli who helped me greatly, and Eugenio La Rocca and Marianne Kleibrink with whom I always discuss the problems of precolonization.

6

Women and *nostoi*

Tanja S. Scheer

When the Hellenistic poet Lykophron narrates Kassandra's prophecy about the fate of the Greeks returning from Troy, her account is part of a long-standing tradition of *nostos* tales.[1] The early epos named *Nostoi* was ascribed to Agias of Troizen and dealt with the adventures of the Atreidai Agamemnon and Menelaos, the fate of the 'Lesser' Aias, as well as that of Achilles' son Neoptolemos after the capture of Troy.[2] Orestes' revenge was also described,[3] his murderous mother Klytaimestra being the only mortal female whose name is mentioned in Proclus' summary of the epos.[4] It has been recently observed that the *Nostoi* covered only a limited selection 'from a broad mass of return stories stored in tradition'.[5] Through the centuries, the return of the Greeks after the Trojan War was an important part of the tradition: the mythological subject of 'homecoming' was popular in various literary genres and was treated, with a different focus from the *Odyssey*, in Attic tragedy and late mythological handbooks.[6]

This essay aims to explore the topic of women in *nostoi* tales. *nostos* is here given a wide definition: it is understood as a motif, which was part of the Greek mythological tradition and had its place in different literary genres. *Nostos* covers (preferably happy) homecomings after a long journey, and the context is predominantly the Trojan War.

[1] On Lykophron's sources see Hornblower 2015: 8–36.
[2] See above, Introduction: 9–12.
[3] Orestes' revenge: Sommerstein 2015: 468.
[4] West 2003a: 156–7 = Procl. arg. *Nostoi* 5.
[5] Danek 2015: 378.
[6] On the controversial chronological relationship between the *Nostoi* and the *Odyssey* see Danek 2015: 356; West 2003: 17. On Aeschylus taking up the motif of the 'Return of the Atreidai', cf. Sommerstein 2015: 476.

This raises the question whether female protagonists are visible in *nostos* stories at all. What roles are assigned to them, and to what extent are these roles shaped by stereotyped gender expectations? Was it possible for a Greek woman to have a *nostos*, to be a positively characterized heroine in mythological *nostos* tales?

FEMALE MEMORABILIA: WOMEN AS PROTAGONISTS OF *NOSTOS* TALES?

Until the Imperial period, Homeric heroes returning from Troy were present across the Mediterranean: their would-be descendants claimed to identify visible remnants of their adventures. Well-known heroes, who had fought against the Trojans, were hit by storms on their way home and lost orientation, and were promoted to be founders of cities all over the Mediterranean coasts.[7] The chronology of these stories must be examined in each case.[8] Already in Thucydides, the stories of more or less successful homecomings after the Trojan War were an important part of early Greek history.[9] These heroes were commemorated by memorials and venerated tombs; local sanctuaries proudly exhibited the offerings, which they were said to have offered on their way back home from Troy.[10] In theory, similar memorabilia could be linked to heroines as well. In Lykophron's *Alexandra*, Kassandra tells a particularly dramatic example about her Trojan companion Setaia:[11] 'Unhappy Setaia, a miserable fate awaits you / on the rocks, where you will die a pitiful

[7] Cf. Scheer 1993; Lane Fox 2008; Malkin 1998: 3–5.

[8] Cf. generally Malkin 1998: 6–9.

[9] Th. 1.12.1–2, cf. Hornblower 1991: 36–7. On the epic *Nostoi* as covering only the eastern part of the Mediterranean, cf. Danek 2015: 375.

[10] Tombs for male companions of Menelaos: see e.g. *Od.* 3.279–85; Menelaos' monument for Agamemnon: *Od.* 4.584; cf. also Pfister 1909–12: 154–5; and generally Pfister 1909–12: 279–89; Danek 2015: 376. Dedications: see Erskine 2001: 1142–3; Higbie 2003: 21–43; Hartmann 2010: 103–19.

[11] Lyk. *Alex.* 1075–82: *Σήταια τλῆμον, σοὶ δὲ πρὸς πέτραις μόρος/μίμνει δυσαίων, ἔνθα γυιούχοις πέδαις/οἴκτιστα χαλκείῃσιν ὠργυιωμένη/θανῇ, πυρὶ φλέξασα δεσποτῶν στόλον,/ἔκβλητον αἰάζουσα Κράθιδος πέλας/τόργοισιν ἀιώρημα φοινίοις δέμας./σπιλὰς δ' ἐκείνη σῆς φερώνυμος τύχης/πόντον προσαυγάζουσα φημισθήσεται* (tr. Hornblower); cf. Tzetz. Lyk. *Alex.* 921; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Σηταῖον*; *Etym. Magn.* s.v. *Σηταῖον*; *Suda* s.v. *Σηταῖον*.

death, / in chains of bronze pinioning / your outstretched arms, because you set fire to the ships of your masters. / Near the Krathis you will lament your body, thrown out/to hang in mid-air for the bloody vultures. / That crag which looks out over the sea will bear your name / and be called after your fate.' Bound to a coastal rock with metal chains, Setaia waits for her death. This is the punishment for an exceptionally serious offence. Abducted from Troy as a prisoner of war, she has set fire to the conquerors' ships, either with her own hands or by inducing her Trojan female companions to do so. In this way, she prevented the *nostos* of the victorious Greeks and caused them to stay where they were, close to the river Krathis, in the lands of Sybaris.[12] Setaia, as Kassandra implies in her prophecy, will not be venerated as the female founder of a city. She will not get a heroic tomb but rather will be the scavenger's prey. Only the rock will be a reminder of her fate. Lykophron could clearly deduce from his sources that the name of a specific place in southern Italy was connected to a female heroine from Troy and to the landing of a Greek fleet in the aftermath of the Trojan War.[13] What presents itself as a rather horrid but promising start for a search of visible traces left by women in tales of *nostoi* is the beginning of an often fruitless search for rather blurred and, above all, much rarer female appearances—compared to those of male protagonists. Examples of venerated female tombs show up rarely, and female founders of cities are barely mentioned at all in Greek traditions.[14] When it comes to gifts and dedications connected with *nostos* stories, female

[12] On the location of the Krathis near Sybaris, cf. Ps.-Skylax 14; Hornblower 2015: 387.

[13] The motif of deadly threatened female heroines bound to a rock was not invented by Lykophron and can be found elsewhere: there are some other mythological women, whose fates are remembered and transferred in reality to specific locations: at Ilion the rock on which was bound the Trojan princess Hesione was a visitors' attraction (Lucan 9.970). On the coast of Joppa Roman tourists could detect the traces of Andromeda's chains still visible on the rock: Plin. *HN* 5.69; Jos. *BJ* 3.420. For more detail on Lykophron's Setaia see Hornblower 2015: 387–9.

[14] On the tomb of Hekabe near the Hellespontos: E. *Hek.* 1265; Strabo 13.1.28; Plin. *HN* 4.11.49. Cf. Larson 1995: 21. On Helen's tomb in Sparta: Hdt. 6.61; Paus. 3.19.9; with Larson 1995: 11; cf. different traditions about Helen made immortal and transferred to the Elysian fields: Apollod. *Epit*. 6.30; Danek 2015: 376. On Kassandra's tomb at Amyklai: Pi. *P.* 11.17–37; Paus. 3.19.6; 3.19.11; cf. Larson 1995: 83–4. Hardly any female founders: cf. the catalogues at Leschhorn 1984: 360–86. Non-Greek Dido as one of the few exceptions: *FGrHist* 566 Timaios F 82 and Larson 1995: 144 on Antinoe in Mantineia (Paus. 8.9.5) as an 'exception who defies gender expectations'.

protagonists are also hard to find. Among the forty-two donors listed by the Lindian Chronicle, there is only one female donor: Helen, who is said to have dedicated 'A pair of bracelets. On which had been inscribed, "Helen to Athena"'.[15] According to Pliny the Elder, the temple of Athena at Lindos showed its visitors another gift of Helen: a cup in the shape of her breast.[16] Interestingly, this object is not included in the Lindian Chronicle's catalogue. Furthermore, Helen's return journey is connected with a golden tripod shown in the temple of Apollo Ismenios in Thebes. On her voyage, Helen is said to have thrown this tripod into the sea, in obedience to an ancient oracle. In later times, this tripod was miraculously caught in fishermen's nets, and after some tribulations ended up in Thebes.[17] Also Helen's fur-lined shoes are said to have been preserved in the temple of Athena in Iapygia.[18] Whether Lykophron's source could have actually seen such an object there remains unclear, but it seems possible.[19] Pieces of clothing, textiles, and jewellery were commonly essential elements of female dedications.[20] In the *Odyssey*, when Odysseus' son Telemachos visits Sparta to gain information about his father's fate, Helen honours him with a precious gift: significantly, it is a garment made by herself.[21] Looking at the rather few relics connected with Helen, it is striking that more than once not Helen herself but her husband Menelaos is credited with dedicating her personal belongings.[22] In addition to the objects concerning Helen, no other relics associated with women in *nostoi* tales are referred to in the extant sources. With some effort the image of Artemis, brought back to Greece by Iphigeneia returning from Tauris and claimed to be possessed by several

[15] *FGrHist* 532 B 11, cf. also Higbie 2003: 80, 89. Helen as the one and only female dedicator in the chronicle: Higbie 2003: 165. Different traditions of Helen staying at Rhodes: Polyain. *Strat.* 1.13; Paus. 3.19.9.

[16] Plin. *HN* 33.81; cf. Pfister 1909–12: 332; Boardman 2002: 88; Higbie 2003: 166.

[17] Plut. *Sol.* 4; Diog. Laert. 1.1.7. Cf. Pfister 1909–12: 333; Boardman 2002: 87; Hartmann 2010: 140.

[18] Lyk. *Alex.* 852–5; Tzetz. Lyk. *Alex.* 852. Cf. Pfister 1909–12: 334.

[19] For the (unclear) identification of the Iapygian sanctuary see Hornblower 2015: 328 (ad Lyk. *Alex.* 853). On Lykophron and mythological relics: Boardman 2002: 26.

[20] E.g. Sikyon boasted that in its temple of Apollo it possessed the funeral cloth woven by Penelope: Ampelius, *lib. mem.* 8.5; see Scheer 1996: 365.

[21] *Od.* 15.105–9, 123–7.

[22] Menelaos was said to have dedicated Helen's necklace at Delphi according to an oracle. Aphrodite herself had given the necklace to Helen: *FGrHist* 70 Ephoros F 96 = Ath. 6.232de; Diod. 16.64. Cf. Hartmann 2010: 110; Pfister 1909–12: 334.

cities, could be seen as another example.[23] Looking for memorabilia connected with mythological heroines seems not to be the best way for writing a history of female homecomings. In the Greek *imaginaire*, apparently countless numbers of males prowled the Mediterranean after the Trojan War, leaving enduring traces while on their way home. However, leaving aside Helen and Iphigeneia, it turns out to be difficult to find figures of women who were positive protagonists of *nostos* stories.

ROLES AND FUNCTIONS OF WOMEN IN *NOSTOS* TRADITIONS

From this picture a question arises: what are the reasons of a similar state of the evidence? Is it possible that images of gender, gendered norms of conduct, and gendered expectations with which men and women had to cope, did influence the shaping of traditional mythological stories? Even though women were hardly positive main characters in *nostoi* traditions, these narratives are not just tales written by men exclusively about men. What roles were assigned to women in these stories?

WOMEN AS REASON FOR A *NOSTOS*

In Greek tradition, women can be the reason for the beginning of a *nostos* (including the desire to return). They can cause the departure into the unknown. Helen's abduction, which proves the best example of a female-provoked *nostos*, gives rise to the departure of a whole generation of heroes: the oath of all her suitors sworn to her husband Menelaos induces a domino effect: one single woman, who dared to escape the control of her husband, causes a whole generation of men to set sail.[24]

[23] E. *IT* 1450–6: the image at Attic Halai; see also Paus. 1.23.7: Brauron; but Paus. 3.16.7: Sparta, and Serv. on V. *A.* 2.116: Aricia. Cf. Boardman 2002: 100.

[24] Helen's abduction already known to the epic *Nostoi*: West 2013: 154–5 = Procl. arg. *Nostoi* 1; the suitor's oath: Hes. fr. 204 M/W; Stesichoros fr. 190 *PMGF* (87 Finglass); Th. 1.9; E. *IA* 58; 78; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.129–32; cf. the list of suitors known to Hyg. *Fab.* 81. For Helen as the 'cause' see Calame 2009: 646–7.

Helen is an example of uncontrolled female mobility, and this kind of mobility has to be reversed. This pattern does not concern only wives. A sudden disappearance or unauthorized departure of unmarried daughters immediately calls male family members into action. For example, Agenor, Europa's father, instructs her brothers to bring back the lost sister, and the men of Medea's father Aietes pursue Medea.[25] It is not by chance that Herodotus highlights the motive of lost women who moved beyond the borders of their family's sphere of influence: according to Herodotus, the mutual kidnapping of women was the ultimate reason for the Persian Wars.[26]

FEMALE OBSTACLES TO THE *NOSTOS* OF HEROES: DANGEROUS BOOTY

Women not only cause the departure of male heroes and the necessity of returning home. Women as decisive factors can also be found at the turning point of the hero's adventure, when the mission is accomplished and the real *nostos* begins. Male competition for captured women can become a major obstacle to a successful *nostos*. Women can induce male protagonists to breach divine law. Because of Chryseis, Agamemnon insulted the priest of Apollo and then was blamed for the plague raging in the Greek army.[27]

After the sack of Troy, it was this city's seemingly helpless women who set the course for the journey back home: Aias the Lokrian seals his fate, violating divine law by ignoring Kassandra's right to asylum, forcibly tearing her away from Athena's image and also by dragging the statue away.[28] Aias will not be rewarded with a

[25] Europa: E. *Phoin.* 6; E. *Phrixos TrGF* 5.2 fr. 819; *FGrHist* 3 Pherekydes fr. 87; Hdt. 4.147.4; Apollod. Bibl. 3.1.3; Hyg. *Fab.* 178. Cf. Fowler 2013: 220–1, 349; Scheer 1993: 278, 321–3. Persecution of Medea: Pherekydes fr. 32; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.133. Fowler 2013: 228; Krevans 1997: 74–7.

[26] Hdt. 1.1–5; cf. also Lyk. *Alex.* 1291–5. Hornblower 2015: 454–6; Calame 2009: 650–2.

[27] *Il.* 1.11–52; S. *The Captive Women* (*Aichmalotides*) *TrGF* fr. 33a–58 Radt. Cf. Sommerstein 2015: 482 n. 68, who takes these women to be Chryseis and Briseis.

[28] The details of Aias' sacrilege change variously in the sources: the question is whether he dragged her or the statue of Athena away or indeed raped her: West 2001: 143–7 = arg. *Ilioupersis* 3 has Aias overturning Athena's statue; in Euripides (*Tro.* 453) the captive Kassandra describes herself as ἁγνή, 'pure': 'while yet my honor is intact.'

successful *nostos*—as was emphasized already by the epic *Nostoi*[29]—and even more: his sacrilege against a woman jeopardizes the return of all the Greeks, as the incensed goddess Athena promises in Euripides' drama *The Trojan Women*:[30] 'I will impose on them a return that is no return (lit. "a bad, unhappy return")'. Moreover, Lykophron's *Alexandra* identifies this sacrilege as the crucial atrocity that negatively influenced the fate of all home-bound Greeks.[31]

FEMALE OBSTACLES TO THE *NOSTOS* OF THE HERO: DANGEROUS WOMEN ABROAD

Women do not only affect the beginning and turning point of male *nostoi*, but also their successful completion. The obstacles to a lucky return include not only additional armed conflicts or the fight against the forces of nature, but also the encounter with dangerous females at unknown shores. From the hero's perspective, the 'positive' example of running into women in an unknown place is Odysseus's encounter with the Kikones.[32] After going ashore, settlements are plundered, men are killed, and women are taken along as booty. This is the 'normal case', which entails considerable risks, as the further course of action will show: while staying with the Phaiakians, Odysseus bitterly complains about the Kikonian men, who, together with reinforcements, assaulted his camp at dawn to get back women and property.[33]

Someone like Odysseus who finds himself far from home in unknown regions may find himself in situations or exotic lands in which the 'normal case' of men acting and women suffering is turned

In Lykophron, however, an angry Athena closes her eyes because of the sacrilege happening in her temple: Lyk. *Alex.* 361–2; cf. also Lyk. *Alex.* 1151. In Apollod. *Ep.* 5.22, Aias rapes Kassandra. On the problem, cf. Hornblower 2015: 199–200.

[29] Aias' destruction as a subject of the epic *Nostoi*: West 2002: 154–5 = Procl. arg. *Nostoi* 3; Danek 2015: 356, 368. Cf. also *Od.* 4.499–509: 'hated of Athena though he was', Aias first seems to escape death, but then is destroyed by Poseidon.

[30] E. *Tro.* 75 (Athena): δύσνοστον αὐτοῖς νόστον ἐμβαλεῖν θέλω; cf. already *Od.* 1.327.

[31] Lyk. *Alex.* 365–72; Athena's wrath because of Kassandra's fate, and her release of the storm, is indicated already in the *Odyssey*: 1.326–7, 3.130–1, and 5.108–9; Danek 2015: 358.

[32] *Od.* 9.39–42; cf. also 11.403 and 17.431–3.

[33] *Od.* 9.52.

upside down.[34] The way home is flanked by female monsters such as Skylla and Charybdis, who prove to be (literally) men-devouring.[35] In the case of the Sirens, the deathly trap hides behind the charms of their voices.[36] Both the *Odyssey* and the Epic Cycle present Kirke and her divine sorcery as the most impressive example of such an encounter: instead of being robbed, raped, and abducted, she keeps power over whoever arrives on her island. Even Odysseus' optimistic companions pull up short, not only losing their masculinity but also their humanity.[37] Afterwards, Kirke plays an active role again, inviting Odysseus to her bed.[38]

In Kalypso's case, the danger remains on a lower level. But, since an immortal woman again actively desires Odysseus as husband and leads him into temptation by promising eternal life, she is able to delay his *nostos* considerably.[39] And even on the island of the Phaiakians, the hierarchy of acting and suffering does not follow the usual pattern: the stranded hero is to be rescued by a young girl, and it is

[34] Cf. Cantarella 2005: 238, arguing that poetic performances of the epic texts taught the Greek to distinguish between 'honest' women, living governed by a man, and 'others' like the dangerous Kirke and Kalypso, living independently and alone.

[35] Skylla: *Od.* 12.230–5, 245–59; Lyk. *Alex.* 44–9; 651 schol.; Skylla judged to be a monstrous invention: Pl. *Resp.* 9.588c. Charybdis: *Od.* 12.235–44; for her location at the strait of Messina cf. Th. 4.24.5; Strabo 1.2.18; on the monstrous femmes fatales impeding Odysseus' *nostos*, cf. Neils 1995: 175–84.

[36] Sirens: *Od.* 12.158–200. Lyk. *Alex.* 712–31 describes tomb-cult for three sirens in South Italy; cf. also places connected with sirens at Strabo 6.1.1; also 1.2.13; 1.2.18; 5.4.7. Cf. Pfister 1909–12: 212; Bettini and Spina 2007: 106–25; on the prophetess Kassandra as a figure similar to the sirens see Hornblower 2015: 292. Singing as a sign that mythical women are not respectable: Cantarella 2005: 238–9.

[37] *Od.* 10.135–9; Kirke explicitly said to be a goddess: *Od.* 9.136; cf. Lyk. *Alex.* 673–80: Kirke as she-dragon (673); the transformation of Odysseus' companions: *Od.* 10.237–43; see also Brilliant 1995: 166–8; in general Maurizio and Franco 2010: 186–202. Kirke's island Aiaia in the east: *Od.* 10.135, Fowler 2013: 201; in the West: Hes. *Th.* 1011–13; 'Ligurian Kirke' (*Λιγυστίς*): E. *Tro.* 437; Circeii: V. *A.* 10–20; Kirke's palace: Theophr. *HP* 5.8.3; cf. Hartmann 2010: 87.

[38] *Od.* 10.334–5. To father illegitimate offspring with exotic women far away is not seen as an important obstacle to the hero's *nostos*. In the long run, however, it can be fatal: cf. Odysseus'children by Kirke: West 2003a: 170–1: *Telegony* fr. 6.; Odysseus' daughter Kassiphone: Lyk. *Alex.* 808–11; schol.

[39] *Od.* 5.209; the assymmetry of the relationship visible in Odysseus addressing Kalypso as *πότνα θέα* (*Od.* 5.215). Kalypso having a child with Odysseus: Apollod. *Epit.* 7.24, perhaps a confusion with Kirke's and Odysseus' son, who is also called Latinos in Hes. *Th.* 1013. Kalypso's island Ogygia located at Gozo: cf. Strabo 1.2.18; on different localizations see Strabo 7.3.6; Ap. Rh. 4.574; Ps.-Skylax 14; Plin. *HN* 3.96; Cassius Dio 48.50.

not up to Alkinoos, the ruler of the Phaiakians and her father, to decide whether Odysseus may stay or not, but to her mother Arete.[40]

Female creatures that may be encountered far away from home are seductive but potentially dangerous. And even if they lack bloodthirstiness, Kirke, Kalypso, and Nausikaa have one thing in common: they have the power to decide about their own whereabouts and do not want to leave their place. They cannot be abducted and brought home as a trophy, and if the hero succumbs to them he himself fails to return home.

FEMALE OBSTACLES TO THE *NOSTOS* OF THE HERO: REBELLIOUS BOOTY

Odysseus seems to have lost his booty of Trojan and Kikonian women and—at least in this respect—escaped further problems. Hellenistic sources tell us about the fate of Hekabe (Hecuba), who was allotted to go with Odysseus. She was then stoned to death either by Odysseus himself throwing the first stone, or by his companions.[41] Later, when Zeus hurled his thunderbolt on Odysseus' ship because of Helios' sacred cattle, everyone abducted from Troy probably drowned in the sea.[42]

In contrast, other heroes returning from the Trojan War have yet to experience how female captives can make a sea voyage dangerous. The booty is not lifeless like precious objects. The Trojan women are never reported as attempting violent resistance against the Greeks—for example, by killing their new masters. They do not behave like Amazons. Instead, they recognize the Greeks' weak spot, which already Achilles had emphasized in the *Iliad*.[43] Should the Trojans succeed in burning the ships of the Greeks, there would be no homecoming for them at all. The Trojan female captives now complete the task which Hector had left unfinished. Setaia, whom we have already mentioned as having set fire to the ships, is not the only woman of whom this story was told. The motif of Trojan women burning ships

[40] Odysseus rescued by Nausikaa: *Od.* 6.117–97; Arete, who makes possible Odysseus' *νόστιμον ἦμαρ* (day of coming home): *Od.* 6.303–11; the island Scheria identified as Kerkyra: Th. 1.25.4 vs. Strabo 1.2.18: Ogygia and Scheria to be found in the Atlantic Ocean.

[41] Cf. schol. Lyk. 1181; Tzetz. Lyk. *Alex.* 1176; schol. E. *Hek.* 1261; cf. Hornblower 2015: 420.

[42] *Od.* 12.415–17; see also E. *Tro.* 439.

[43] *Il.* 16.80.

was reported in numerous variants by the sources, and was claimed by different geographic areas.[44] In Lykophron, Setaia burns the Greek fleet near Sybaris.[45] According to Konon, the three sisters of Priam, namely Aithylla, Astyoche, and Medesikaste, instigated their companions to burn the ships near Skione at Pallene and prevented the *nostos* of Protesilaos' men.[46] Apollodoros' Epitome gives the river Nauaithos ('Ship-burner') near Kroton as the place where the sisters, called 'Nauprestides', revolt against their Greek masters.[47] The name of the river was perhaps exploited to claim the story for the location. It is difficult to date the first appearance of the motif of rebel female prisoners.[48] Euripides' *Trojan Women* could have provided occasions for different locations of such stories.[49] When his Trojan women were worrying about where their fate would lead them, they thought of Sparta, Athens, Thessaly as well as of Sicily and South Italy. The river Krathis was explicitly mentioned. The living booty, as some authors repeatedly pointed out, could unexpectedly and irreversibly stop the *nostos*.

A THREATENED AND DANGEROUS HOMELAND: WOMEN AS DECISIVE FACTORS AT THE END OF THE *NOSTOS*

The list of the manifold female hazards of a male *nostos* has not yet come to an end. Even when the hero escapes the dangers of the sea,

[44] On the various versions see Hornblower 2015: 387–8; Fowler 2013: 567 n. 150; Erskine 2001: 136; Malkin 1998: 197–8; Pfister 1909–12: 146.

[45] Setaia: Lyk. *Alex.* 1075–82; see above p. 124 n. 11.

[46] Konon *FGrHist* 26 fr. 1.XIII; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Σκίωνη*; Polyain. *Strat.* 7.4. According to Konon, the ships were burnt beweeen Mende and Skione on the peninsula of Pallene; cf. Th. 4.120. 1 with Hornblower 2015: 241.

[47] Apollod. *Epit.* 6.15c = Tzetz. Lyk. *Alex.* 921: this time the act of burning is located in Italy; on the river Nauaithos or Neaithos: Theok. *Id.* 4.24; Strabo 6.1.11; Plin. *HN* 3.96; cf. Hornblower 2015: 347. See also Fowler, this volume, p. 50.

[48] The motif appears for the first time (in the extant sources) in Hellanikos of Lesbos (*FGrHist* 4 fr. 84 c–f): Trojan female companions of trying to end his wanderings (cf. also Plut. *Rom.* 1.17f–18b; *de mul. vir.* 1). The homecoming of Greek heroes prevented by burning the ships is found for the first time in Arist. fr. 609 (ap. Plut. *QR.* 6.265b); cf. Fowler 2013: 567. Danek 2015: 377, trying to reconstruct the plot of the epic *Nostoi*, assumes that the poet 'avoided treating those heroes who permanently settled somewhere else'.

[49] E. *Tro.* 214–28.

the wrath of the gods, and the treachery of female booty, one ultimate obstacle remains which might prevent a lucky *nostos*: his wife at home. Wives are not supposed to participate in the male *nostos*; Helen, brought back from Troy to Greece, is the exception. Significantly, in the *Odyssey* Penelope remarks that Helen would never have slept with a stranger if she had known that the warrior Greeks would bring her home again.[50] Nevertheless, wives play a major role in their husbands' *nostos*. Her sheer existence, her continuous presence in the hero's mind, becomes the driving force for his homecoming. Odysseus, as Homer lets his audience know at the beginning of the *Odyssey*, is longing for his return to his wife and country.[51] In contrast, it is Penelope's part to sit at home yearning for his homecoming.[52]

However, in addition to the emotional bonds, every hero fighting at Troy must have been very much aware that a long absence could weaken his position at home. The reason for their endeavour, after all, was to bring back a wife who escaped or was abducted. Therefore, when even the short absence of Menelaos resulted in Helen's infidelity,[53] then every man who fought before the walls of Troy had to fear the same fate, the risk of losing his wife to someone else. Wives should be a reliable and central part of the *oikos*, but in fact they turn out to be unpredictable.

No matter how much time the *nostos* took (we are told that some, such as Nestor or Diomedes, made their journey within four days, others such as Menelaos or Odysseus had to spend several years travelling until their final return),[54] whether the *nostos* was lucky became clear only at the very moment of the arrival. When the returning hero entered his own house, it was decided if he could

[50] See *Od.* 23.218–21. Cf. also Doyle 2010: 15–16.

[51] *Od.* 1.13–14: *τόν δ'οἷον νόστου κεχρημένον ἠδὲ γυναικὸς / νύμφη πότνι' ἔρυκε Καλυψὼ δῖα θέαων* (he, though he was longing for his return to his wife and country, was detained by the goddess Kalypso).

[52] *Od.* 23.350–1: Odysseus to Penelope: *σὺ μὲν ἐνθάδ' ἐμὸν πολυκηδέα νόστον / κλαίουσ'*. Another example of a loving wife at home is Protesilaos' wife Polydora/Laodameia: West 2003a: 101 = *Kypria* fr. 22; Apollod. *Epit*. 3.30; cf. Hornblower 2015: 241.

[53] On Menelaos' journey to Krete (during which Helen elopes with Paris), cf. *Il.* 3.232 and West 2003a: 67 = Procl. arg. *Kypr*. 2; Apollod. *Epit*. 3.3; Dictys Cretensis 1.3.

[54] Nestor and Diomedes: *Od.* 3.180–1; Menelaos' return eight years later: *Od.* 3.278, 305–10, 4.82. Swift homecomings were reported for Neoptolemos and his Myrmidons (*Od.* 3.188), Philoktetes (*Od.* 3.190 vs. Apollod. *Epit*. 6.15), and Idomeneus of Krete (*Od.* 3.191–2).

regain his position in his social environment.[55] And it is the wife who is of primary importance when he sought to reclaim his social position. The two famous examples of Agamemnon's murderous wife Klytaimestra and Odysseus' faithful wife Penelope might illustrate the potential negative and positive outcome of the *nostos*. As a reliable wife, Penelope preserves Odysseus' household and protects her child Telemachos. Klytaimestra, however, being the deceitful wife par excellence,[56] commits adultery,[57] installs her lover Aegisthos as a rival in Agamemnon's house, endangers the legitimate children, and takes her husband's life after his return.[58]

Similarly, other examples from the *nostoi* tales show that the weak point of the returning heroes is the wife back home: in the *Iliad*, Diomedes aroused Aphrodite's wrath by injuring her hand in battle.[59] His trip back to Argos went smoothly, but, as various later sources report, Aphrodite punished Diomedes by having his wife Aigialeia seduced by several lovers younger than her husband.[60] For Diomedes this was especially risky, since—similarly to Menelaos in Sparta[61]—he was characterized as a hero who did not inherit power over Argos himself but received it only through marriage: Aegialeia was the daughter of the Argive king Adrastos, and therefore the conflict between her and Diomedes was decided in her favour.[62] Threatened by the murderous snares of the adulterous wife, Diomedes could

[55] In the Greek mythological tradition, unmarried young heroes want to go to war or leave home to win booty, a wife, or a new home elsewhere, while married heroes have something to lose in going abroad: hence Odysseus pretends to be insane in order to escape his obligation to take part in the Trojan War: *Od.* 24.115–19; West 2013: 70–1 = Procl. arg. *Kypr*. 5.

[56] *Od*. 11.422: δολόμητις.

[57] *Od.* 3.263–8; cf. also *Od.* 4.517–35. Aigisthos murdering Agamemnon already as part of the epic 'Nostoi': Danek 2015: 356.

[58] *Od*. 11.409; Penelope and Klytaimestra as contrasting characters: E. *Or*. 588. See Danek 2015: 357; Doyle 2010: 17.

[59] *Il*. 5.330–44. Genovese 2009: 204.

[60] Diomedes' fast and safe return as part of the *Odyssey*: see above n. 54; probably part of the epic Nostoi: Danek 2015: 367; Sistakou 2015: 492.

[61] Menelaos receiving power over Sparta via marriage: *Il.* 2.581–90; after the Dioskouri leaving the earth (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.11.2; 2.137) or after Tyndareus' death: (Hyg. *Fab*. 78). Cf. also Doyle 2010: 16.

[62] Lineage of Aegialeia: *Il.* 5.412; schol. *Il*.; see also e.g. Paus. 2.18.5; Diomedes as Aetolian intruder in Argos: Danek 2015: 367.

barely save his life by seeking asylum as a suppliant at the altar of Hera. Ultimately, he had to leave Argos.[63]

Irate gods and human avengers take advantage of wives primarily interested in keeping their position at home. A good example is offered by the traditions about Nauplios. Nauplios, mentioned already by the author of the epic *Nostoi*,[64] was the father of Palamedes, who was unjustifiably executed by his Greek fellow fighters in a wicked scheme devised by Odysseus. Palamedes' angry father, Nauplios, was not only responsible for luring the ships of the returning Greeks to the cliffs near Cape Kaphereus:[65] later sources emphasize his additional revenge at home in successfully inciting the wives of the Greek heroes to commit adultery.[66] Klytaimestra, Aegialeia, and Meda, the wife of the Kretan commander Idomeneus, succumbed to this intrigue because Nauplios had sent messages to them saying that the Greeks would return home with new wives.[67]

For Agamemnon this meant death at his arrival, for Diomedes and Idomeneus expulsion from home, and in the end an unsuccessful homecoming. The wives' fear of being replaced by some highborn Trojan slaves finds its counterpart in the description of the actions of the Trojan captives, who actually are striving for an acceptable position. Being afraid of encountering the legitimate wives in Greece, the Trojan women burn the ships of their Greek masters. In Konon's late version (reported by Photios) it is explicitly said that Priam's sister

[63] Lyk. *Alex.* 610–14. It is not clear whether Diomedes' supplication and flight had been told already in the epic *Nostoi*: Danek 2015: 367 thinks that it is rather unlikely; Aegialeia's adultery is not narrated before the Hellenistic period: Pfister 1909–12: 153; for this as a Hellenistic 'inversion' of the story see Sistakou 2015: 492; differently Malkin 1998: 237. Generally on Diomedes in Italy see Malkin 1988: 234–57 and Genovese 2009: 189–266.

[64] Nauplios already part of the epic *Nostoi*: West 2013: F 11; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1.5; cf. Danek 2015: 361, 368–9. Palamedes' death during a fishing excursion: West 2013: Procl. arg. *Kypr.* 12; fr. 27 = Paus. 10.31.2; Palamedes stoned to death: Apollod. *Epit.* 6.8; cf. Sommerstein 2015: 466.

[65] On the story of Cap Kaphereus in Sophocles' *Nauplios Pyrkaeus* see Sommerstein 2015: 483; see also Lyk. *Alex.* 385–6.

[66] Lyk. *Alex.* 1090–98; Lyk. *Alex.* 1216–25 and schol.; Tzetz. Lyk. *Alex.* 1217; cf. Apollod. *Epit.* 6.9–11. Severyns 1928: 371–6 postulated the motive as part of the *Kypria*; Danek 2015: 369 disagrees and thinks it 'improbable' to have been 'contained in the *Nostoi* where it could figure only as an external analepsis'. Detailed versions of the story are found in Hyg. *Fab.* 117 and Dictys Cretensis 6.2.

[67] On the Greek wives' legitimate fear of being replaced, cf. the only mention of Klytaimestra in the *Iliad* (1.113): Agamemnon states in public that he prefers Chryseis to Klytaimestra.

Aithylla told her companions that, once arrived in Greece, they would consider the troubles (*kaka*) of Troy as gold in comparison with their status as slaves.[68] An ancient audience could only agree with this argument: the fate of Kassandra, murdered by Klytaimestra, was mentioned already in the *Odyssey*,[69] and Euripides described the tragic entanglements arising from the competition between the captive Andromache and Neoptolemos' legitimate wife Hermione.[70] Trojan captives fear the Greek wives just as the Greek wives dread the Trojan captives: both parties' trepidation is quite justified and it affects the fate of the returning heroes.

It appears that *nostos* tales show male *nostoi* as deeply affected by conflicting gendered interests. High-ranking female captives may be desirable for men when competing with other heroes, but at the end of the day this increase of prestige may turn out to be ruinous, because it brings female captives, as well as wives back home, in opposition to the male heroes who try to return home. Concrete risks that might follow include the prevention of the return itself—because of burned ships—or a deadly chaos within the returning male hero's house.

A FEMALE *NOSTOS*: CHRYSEIS FROM CHRYSA

In the tales of the returns from Troy, women appear at decisive points of the story. Sometimes their fate speeds up the action; sometimes the return is prevented forever. Nevertheless, the *nostoi* tales almost never feature positive female protagonists. One famous example from the Trojan myths, already told in the *Iliad*, might illustrate why this is the case.[71] Chryseis, the daughter of Chryses, is one of the rare examples in which a woman returns home. Chryseis, who is called Astynome

[68] Cf. Konon *FGrHist* 26 fr. 1 XIII: *ἄλλα τε ἡ Αἰθίλλα ταῖς συναιχμαλώτισιν εἰποῦσα καὶ ὡς, εἰ αφίκοιντο σὺν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, χρυσὸς ἂν αὐταῖς δόξειε τὰ τῆς Τροίας κακά, πείθει πῦρ ἐνεῖναι ταῖς ναυσί.*

[69] Kassandra's death: *Od.* 11.421–3; A. *Ag.*; Tomb of Kassandra at Amyklai: see above p. 125 n. 14.

[70] E. hypoth. *Andr.*; cf. also Seaford 1990: 169f. Andromache given to Neoptolemos as possible motive of the epic *Nostoi*: see schol. *Od.* 3.188 and Danek 2015: 365.

[71] *Il.* 1.9–147, 430–77.

by other authors,[72] was captured by the Greeks in one of the regions near Troy, and was given to Agamemnon. Her father Chryses, a priest of Apollo, tries in vain to release his daughter by offering precious gifts. The poet implies that Chryseis was taken captive as an unmarried virgin, otherwise her husband, not her father, would have tried to buy her back.[73]

Apollo's wrath, provoked by the disregard of his priest, and its consequences, are dealt with in detail in the *Iliad*. In this epic, Chryseis has no further function: she is never mentioned after the god is reconciled to the Greeks. From the girl's perspective, only one aspect matters: she manages to return home. Chryseis' *nostos* is extensively described (it is interesting to note that the poet does not use the word *nostos* in relation to her story):[74] the Achaians load a ship with sacrificial animals, and Agamemnon leads the girl to the vessel.[75] When reaching the destination, Chrysa, Odysseus hands over Chryseis to her father,[76] who 'joyfully' receives his 'dear child'.[77] Then sacrifices of reconciliation to Apollo are performed.

While this happens, nothing is heard from Chryseis. In the *Iliad*, she remains a silent heroine. And nothing more is revealed about her, whether she is handed over to her father untouched—which in this case means whether she has been raped by Agamemnon—or not. From his remark to her father, that Chryseis should serve him as weaver and bedfellow, it can be inferred that she was no longer a virgin at the time of her return.[78] In this regard, it is interesting to look at the case of the second female captive mentioned in the *Iliad,* Briseis, who was snatched from Achilles by Agamemnon. When Briseis is given back to Achilles, Agamemnon swears an oath that

[72] Schol. *Il.* 1.392: Astynome as Chryseis' real name: see Hsch. s.v. *Ἀστυνόμη*; Tzetz. Lyk. *Alex.* 298; see also Dictys Cretensis 2.17, 18. Chryses' daughter Astynome abducted from Lyrnessos: Dictys Cretensis 2.28, 33; generally, Roscher 1886–90: 901–2.

[73] Cf. the circumstances of Chryseis' abduction as told in the *Kypria*, characterizing the girl as a positive figure (West 2013: Kypria fr. 24 = schol. *Il.* 1.366): Achilles tells his mother about Athena warning him not to conquer Thebes. See also Eustath. *Il.*, 119.4 and schol. *Il.* 1.18–19: Chryseis visited Iphinoe in Hypoplakian Thebes and had been captured during a sacrifice for Artemis. Currie 2015: 293–4 sees the need to explain why Chryseis could have been captured elsewhere and not at home in her father's house. Burgess 2001: 151–2 has the *Iliad* already taking the story for granted.

[74] *Il.* 1.430–40.

[75] *Il.* 1.309–11.

[76] *Il.* 1.441.

[77] *Il.* 1.446–7: *ὡς εἰπὼν ἐν χερσὶ τίθει, ὃ δὲ δέξατο χαίρων / παῖδα φίλην.*

[78] *Il.* 1.31.

he has not touched the girl. However, his behaviour might have been influenced by the special circumstances: his attitude towards Briseis was perhaps motivated not by respect for her but by the desire to handle carefully a controversial piece of booty.[79]

Chryseis' *nostos* was lucky in the sense that the ship safely reached Chrysa, and that she could be handed over to her father. But then the author of the *Iliad* interrupts her storyline. The reader will not discover what it means to return home after a long absence as a raped ex-captive. Stories about *nostoi* seem to involve different problems for female protagonists than for male ones. The *Iliad* is not interested in explaining them in detail. Significantly, however, such an interest is developed by later authors. Chryseis' fate was mentioned in a lost tragedy of Sophocles called *Chryses*, the plot of which is reported by Hyginus:[80] Chryseis is not the main character of the drama, but it seems that the author was aware of the ambivalent aspects of a female *nostos*, and that he adapted the tale for an Athenian audience of the fifth century BCE.[81]

First of all, in this tragedy the status of Chryseis has changed: she is not portrayed as a slave, and Achilles has given her to Agamemnon 'in marriage'.[82] The fact that Agamemnon is already married, and whether this marriage is legitimate, is another story. But, by describing a new marriage for Agamemnon, the wives' concerns back home seem to be perfectly understandable. Their status is in fact threatened by female captives. Furthermore, the author of this drama has Chryseis expecting a child by Agamemnon, but she denies her loss of virginity when coming home to her father.[83] In the well-known story

[79] *Il.* 19.175.

[80] S. *TrGF* 4. 726–30; cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 121. Krauskopf 1986: 281–2.

[81] The main storyline emphasizes the meeting of Orestes with Chryses the younger, who turns out to be his half-brother (by Chryseis). On the Roman version of the drama by Pacuvius in the second century BCE see Schierl 2012: 199. This happens during Iphigeneia's and Orestes' journey home from Tauris, arriving at the island Sminthe, where Chryses the Younger and his father live: Hyg. *Fab.* 120. Tzetz. Lyk. *Alex.* 183 has another version (which is rather difficult to explain) presenting Iphigeneia herself as daughter of Chryseis. For two children of Chryseis fathered by Agamemnon see also *Etym. Magn.* s.v. Chrysopolis (815, 56).

[82] Hyg. *Fab.* 121: *eamque Agamemnoni dedit in coniugium.*

[83] Hyg. *Fab.* 121: *itaque Agamemnon Chryseida gravidam sacerdoti remisit, quae cum diceret se ab eo intactam esse, suo tempore peperit Chrysen iuniorem et dixit se ab Apolline concepisse*: 'Agamemnon returned Chryseis pregnant to the priest (her father, Chryses). She claimed that she was a virgin; and when she bore a child, also called Chryses, she said that Apollo was the father.'

in the *Iliad,* this possibility is left open. The poet may have deliberately not specified Chryseis' state in order not to hinder the return to her father: the sometimes rough and ruthless reactions of fathers to sexual relationships and pregnancy of unmarried daughters are a constant component of Greek myths.[84] At first, Chryseis' denial is successful. In Greek social realities, virginity tests are unknown in pagan Greek antiquity, since *parthenos* is a social rather than a physical category—until pregnancy proves the contrary.[85] But when the pregnancy can no longer be hidden, Chryseis' can save her reputation only by untruthfully claiming Apollo as the father of her child.[86] Many years pass until her father Chryses learns the truth. The example of Chryseis shows the way in which long absences can threaten a woman's reputation. The reputation of women, who found themselves in the hands of men far away from their families, can always be questioned.

WOMEN AND *NOSTOI*: HAPPY FEMALE HOMECOMINGS?

To come back to our initial question: why is it so hard to find stories in the Greek mythological tradition in which women are portrayed as positive heroines of *nostoi*, and stories that describe women happily returning home after a long absence and being reinstated in their former social position?

First, it should be remembered that even mythical stories are subject to the rules of narrative plausibility. The action of the parties involved should make sense for an ancient audience. Accordingly, male and female action in mythological stories is shaped by gender-specific role expectations and implies different interests of men and women. As Deborah Lyons has noted, on one side, there are

[84] On the motive of punishing the pregnant daughter see Burkert on the narrative pattern of the 'girls' tragedy' in Greek myth: Burkert 1979: 7; also Lyons 1997: 60–1.

[85] Sissa 1990: 343–4, 349.

[86] See Hyg. (above). A different solution is presented by a very late source: Dictys Cretensis (2.47). After Chryses (the Older) realized that Astynome/Chryseis 'had been properly treated, he was now bringing her back for Agamemnon to have'. What will happen to her in the future remains in the dark. De facto, this awkward story reverses the *nostos* of Chryseis, which was so difficult to negotiate.

distinctive heroines with notable names and famous stories which as a rule tend to be 'stories of disaster' and, on the other side, there is another group of heroines visible in the sources who have 'essentially no story. It is this quality of having no story that saves them for a return to everyday life.'[87]

A mythological story about a heroine who first goes on an adventure to kill a monster or to fight battles, and afterwards comes back happily to her father's or husband's house, would not work: it would simply seem absurd to the audience of epic or dramatic performances.[88] For a woman to be a positive heroine of a *nostos* tale and to have a happy homecoming, the first requirement would be a socially permissible reason for departure; that is, one that would convince the audience.[89] The stories of myth took place in the past, but in order to be attractive in various 'presents' when constructing male and female characters, they should not contradict fundamental expectations about the behaviour of the sexes. Accordingly, in Greek mythological stories, gender stereotypes showing positive masculinity and femininity do not prove to be entirely different to accepted norms shaping 'real' Greek society. Of course, these rules can differ in detail from *polis* to *polis*, but their fundamental validity is evident in different epochs of Greek history.[90]

Women have little chance in real Greek society to fulfil the requirements for an accepted departure into the unknown. It is part of the construction and demonstration of positive masculinity in a patrilocal society like ancient Athens that fathers, brothers, and husbands decide about the whereabouts of the family's women.[91] Greek women do not participate in military campaigns, and if Greeks are reported to found colonies abroad, the sources do not mention women as

[87] Lyons 1997: 55.

[88] Figures like the Amazons, living outside the Greek world, are the exotic and of course negative exception to the rule: see Blundell 1998: 87–91.

[89] Cf. Sourvinou Inwood 1997: 254 for 'common parameters . . . shared by the tragedian and his audience', that include the model of the 'good = normal woman' and the model of the 'bad woman'.

[90] For female mobility in antiquity, cf. for example Woolf 2016: 452, who notes that historically 'the sex ratio of voluntary migrants has (until very recently) been biased strongly in favour of males.'

[91] This does not mean that Greek or Athenian women spent their lives confined to their houses, as earlier scholarship maintained, but that their mobility was socially controlled by men: see e.g. Cantarella 2005: 250; similar also Blondell 2013: 32.

active participants of these enterprises, with the exception of some priestesses.[92]

Greek women—this seems to be the norm—should travel as little as possible. Solon is even said to have enacted a law enforcing women to take not more than a few days' supplies when leaving home.[93] If this tradition were to be trusted, this law would have narrowly restricted any independent long-distance mobility of females. However, overall the mobility normally conceded to women was limited to marriage, to the route from the father's household to the new husband's household.[94] And even this path is determined by others: at no time in ancient Greek history do young girls select their future partners themselves.

This social norm is reflected in the mythological tradition. Penelope, waiting at home for her husband, is the positive example.[95] Even women in myth cannot have any good reason to depart from home—be it the house of their fathers or the house of their husbands. Because of that, cases in which exactly this is done and women do not submit to the rules are included in mythological traditions: in epic and Attic tragedy they function as negative examples who arouse the curiosity of the audience and dramatize the action. It is not surprising that some later authors are also interested in these aspects. But when mythical women are behaving against the norms, this is a sign of a critical situation, of crisis, and usually the end of the story is neither a happy ending nor a successful return. Women in myth have been abducted or taken captive by force or they had to flee from home. Abduction by force in wartime—as the Trojan women are

[92] Priestesses participating in colonization: Paus. 10.28.3; Strabo 4.1.4. Whether and how women from the Greek mainland arrived later in newly founded Greek colonies is not related by the sources; the problem of women and colonization is still debated: Graham 1995: 12–14; Malkin 2011: 182.

[93] See Plut. *Sol.* 21.5–7 = Ruschenbusch fr. 72c; Blok 2006: 205, 215: concerning women's outdoor movements on diverse occasions: 'he [Solon] also made a regulation . . . ordering that a woman should not go out with more than three pieces of clothing, and carrying no more food or drink than the value of an obol, and a basket not larger than a cubit, and that they should not travel at night except in a wagon bringing a lighted lamp.'

[94] Blondell 2013: 12: 'After the culturally sanctioned transition of marriage, she is supposed to settle down, to become stable in behavior and location. But there is always a lingering danger that she will refuse to stay put and move again.'

[95] Cantarella 2005: 246. Cf. also Graf 1997: 31: the father's (and not the girl's) consent as the deciding factor.

experiencing—implies that the homeland itself is destroyed. No possibility of a return is left.

Otherwise, women in Greek myth elope like Helen. Against all rules, Medea has endeavored to accompany Jason on the long voyage back to Greece, but when he deserts her, she has no home to return to:[96] 'no home of a father hast thou / for thine haven when trouble-storms lower,' as Euripides' chorus of Korinthian women comments on her fate. The violation of the norm, which in Medea's case was followed by fratricide and culminated in the murder of their children, makes her the 'negative polarization of "bad woman"'.[97]

It would not be convincing to describe eloped or abducted women as positive leading characters awaiting a happy return: voluntary elopement destroys any personal reputation. However, even abduction by force implies the possibility that a wife or a daughter may be pregnant by a stranger. In the case of a return, the potential bridegroom or husband faces the fear that his *oikos* will pass to outsiders because the children of his wife are not his own.[98] Again, we see one fundamental element of positive femininity in patrilocal Greek *polis* society hovering in the background. Fatherhood must be proved beyond any reasonable doubt, and the punishments for adulterers and adulteresses as well as for unchaste unmarried daughters aim to ensure this.[99]

It is probably no coincidence that those ancient writers who give Helen and Iphigeneia a successful *nostos* are striving to avoid the subject of illegitimate children.[100] They are the only women whose return to Greece is reported in detail. The authors of the *Iliad* and

[96] E. *Med.* 440–1: *σοὶ δ'οὔτε πατρὸς δόμοι, δύστανε*. See also E. *Med.* 502–3. Cf. Williamson 1990: 18: 'she has, unlike a divorced Athenian woman, no home to return to.' Sourvinou-Inwood 1997: 256) characterizes Medea's union as a 'transgressive form of marriage'.

[97] Medea as an example of challenging established categories: see Johnston 1997: 9; cf. Sourvinou-Inwood: 294 and 260 characterizing Medea as a 'bad woman' who 'got away with everything'. Medea outside the common norms of behaviour because she is a goddess: Fowler 2013: 233.

[98] Cf. above pp. 138–9. Chryseis denying her pregnancy: Hyg. *Fab.* 121.

[99] Punishments: Lys. 1.30; 13.66; Plut. *Sol.* 23.2. Importance of legitimate fatherhood: Ogden 1996: 126–9. On treating illegitimate children in tragedy and New Comedy see Cantarella 2005: 240–2; Ogden 1996: 175–8; and Seaford 1990: 160–1.

[100] See Lyons 197: 162, who emphasizes that Helen and Iphigeneia belong to the small category of heroines who become goddesses. Medea is a similar case: cf. above n. 97.

Odyssey assume that the real Helen was present at Troy.[101] They mention Hermione as Helen's one and only daughter.[102] She has no children from her other relationships with Paris or Deiphobos.[103] Some other ancient writers, following Stesichoros' *Palinodia* and claiming that Paris abducted only a delusional *eidōlon* ('phantom') of Helen to Troy, had no problem at all.[104] If Helen has lived chastely in Egypt during the Trojan War, she can go back to Sparta afterwards and continue her marriage with Menelaos without a stain on her integrity. Lyons describes Helen as the only Greek heroine who 'does manage to have *nostos* as well as *kleos*', both a return and a good reputation.[105]

The virgin Iphigeneia, transported to Tauris by the divine power of Artemis, according to Euripides is also above suspicion:[106] she spent her time abroad as a virgin priestess and not as mistress of the barbaric king Thoas.[107] And she was brought back to Greece by a man of her own family, her brother Orestes. Her future will be equally blameless: after returning to Greece, she will spend her life as a priestess of Artemis in Attica.[108]

In addition to these traditions, however, it can be observed how the variability of mythological traditions influenced the characterization of women in *nostos* tales—depending on the respective function of the narrative. Over time, there emerges a trend to ascribe additional

[101] Cf. Danek 2015: 366, who assumes this version of the story for the epic *Nostoi*.

[102] *Il.* 3.175; *Od.* 4.12; Hes. fr. 204 M/W; E. *Andr.* 898; but see Fowler 2013: 550 citing *Od.* 4.228; *Il.* 6.289–92; *Od.* 4.351–2 to prove 'that Homer really knew that Helen never went to Troy but stayed in Egypt'.

[103] Further children of Menelaos and Helen in later sources: Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.11.1: 'some say' Menelaos and Helen are the parents of Nikostratos; cf. schol. *Il.* 3.175: Nikostratos and Aithiolas as children of Menelaos and Helen. Lyk. *Alex.* 881 has Helen as the thrice-married mother of only daughters (more than one), but see the inconsistency in Lyk. *Alex.* 143: Helen as wife of five husbands (including Theseus and Achilles). Cf. generally Hornblower 2015: 153–5, 327.

[104] See Stesichoros fr. 192 *PMGF* (91a and 91b Finglass = Pl. *Phdr.* 243a; *Resp.* 9.586c); Hdt. 2.113–15; E. *Hel.* 582. Helen as always 'an ambivalent figure in the Greek tradition': Ogden 1996: 145; see also Lyons 1997: 158–61; Calame 2009: 654–5; Fowler 2013: 550; Blondell 2013: 30; Noussia-Fantuzzi 2015: 433.

[105] Lyons 1997: 56.

[106] West 2013: 74–5 = Procl. *Kypr.* arg. 8; E. *IA*. Cf. Currie 2015: 291; but for Iphigeneia becoming immortal in the epic *Kypria* see Currie 2015: 292. See further Biffis, this volume, pp. 170–1.

[107] E. *IT* 34–5; 130–1. See also E. *IT* 220: Iphigeneia as ἄτεκνος ἄπολις ἄφιλος, living in the ἀνακτόρων of the goddess (*IT* 66). Cf. Lyons 1997: 157.

[108] E. *IT* 1450–67, esp. 1462; Larson 1995: 127.

children to every possible heroine who had had the dubious luck to encounter one or another male hero. Thus, Chryseis could become the mother of two children by Agamemnon, Helen had various children, fathered by Theseus and Paris; and the virgin Iphigeneia, who allegedly had been betrothed to Achilles, now gave birth to his son Neoptolemos.[109] One reason for the multitude of these narratives may have been the desire of single authors to emphasize and dramatize erotic elements of mythological stories. This was done especially from the Hellenistic period onwards. However, the 'discovery' of additional children was also essential for the function of genealogical myths reconstructing the early Greek history of the Mediterranean. Mythological heroines having children had always been an important means to connect different stories, different peoples, and different places.

CONCLUSION

The complex of the *nostos* stories, the tales about the returns from Troy including the *Odyssey*, is perhaps the 'most mobile' set of narratives in Greek mythology. And for centuries, this bundle of stories was of high importance for different Greek writers and various Greek audiences. Single elements of the stories were adapted and adjusted, but the narrative patterns were always heavily shaped by gender stereotypes, which repeatedly can be recognized in historical realities: men and women in *nostos* tales display gender-specific essential interests very similar to those that the audience would attribute to men and women in the 'real world'. Men have the chance of benefits through travelling: booty, women, and power (in myth this can culminate in gaining a kingdom abroad by marriage). In contrast to men, women do not acquire booty; rather they have to be alert not to become pieces of 'living booty' themselves. For women, there is no good reason for

[109] For Klytaimestra's children by Aigisthos, cf. Sophocles' *Erigone*, with Sommerstein 2015: 483 n. 73; Hyg. *Fab.* 122; Dictys Cretensis 6.2; Helen as mother of Iphigeneia by Theseus(!): Stesichoros fr. 191 *PMG* (86 Finglass) = Paus. 2.22.6–7; cf. Noussia-Fantuzzi 2015: 434–5; see also e.g. Tzetz. Lyk. *Alex.* 851 four children for Helen by Paris. One of those children (Aganos) also mentioned: schol. E. *Andr.* 898; Fowler 2013: 259. Iphigeneia's marriage to Achilles: Ant. Lib. 27; Neoptolemos as son of Achilles and Iphigeneia: Tzetz. Lyk. *Alex.* 183, cf. 323; schol. and Eust. *Il.* 19.326.

departing, since travelling is outside their sphere of interest. Departure is, however the precondition for coming home. The construction of a positive masculinity includes mobility, while positive femininity is threatened by it, and it makes no difference for 'her' whether this mobility is voluntary or enforced. Men are those who are on their way and long for a return. Women have no return because one returns home to them.

Therefore, the wish not to change place is a common feature of women that recurs in the tales of the Greeks' return from Troy, including Kirke as well as Setaia. This stereotype is even intensified in the motive of the revolt of the Trojan captives: Setaia, who burns the Greek ships and suffers a terrible death at Cape Setaion, does not want to take revenge on the Greeks. Her intention is a different one, and would have been immediately understood by any Greek audience: the reason for burning the ships is the typical female desire for local stability, which ultimately maintains the stability of status.

7

Nostos, a Journey towards Identity in Athenian Tragedy

Giulia Biffis

Nostos as homecoming is a central concept in Greek tradition. The word is used in the plural for a set of traditional stories that narrate Greek heroes' homecoming from the war of Troy. The *Odyssey* is just one of the many stories that in the epic tradition are called *Nostoi*. *Nostoi* tales combine formal and thematic analogies. These have led scholars to the identification of 'narrative functional units' that facilitate the recognition of similarities in myths that go beyond the scope of the Trojan *nostoi*. Tales of return, like other mythical tales, contribute to the construction of an imaginative world that shaped the Greek sense of self and its surroundings. This imaginative world helped Greeks to define, codify, and, ultimately, understand life. These stories are a fundamental example of how narratives can act as a vehicle for normative thought, a means of consolidating tradition and making it last for generations. As tragedy is a genre that has distinctive ways of engaging with myth with respect to other forms of mythical narratives, I aim to show its particular interaction with *nostos*.[1]

The analysis will survey all occurrences of the word *nostos* and its cognates in tragedy, investigating how these relate to characteristic traits and motifs of *nostos* tales. The tragic genre seems aware of how

[1] Consider the study of M. Alexopoulou of *nostos* as a recurrent topos in tragedy from a formal point of view, 2009: 39–79, esp. 40.

return narratives reflect both 'emotional universals'[2] and 'normative articulations'[3] of the relationship between individuals and community of origin that together create identity (at a personal and social level). The tragic *nostos* enhances the traumatic experience of detachment from family and community in a context where the relationship between individual and collectivity is paramount for the construction of a sense of self. Thus, it confirms how displacement in time and space entails difficulty in retaining one's identity,[4] in a world in which social development is based also on mobility.

The present chapter aims to explore *nostos* in the tragic corpus and how it contributes to the building or consolidation of identity; Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris* is singled out, as it offers the chance to explore different strands of analysis at once: how return narratives, usually presented in diegetic mode (the telling of a story by an external narrator), can be reinterpreted in a mimetic genre; how the characters' identity is constructed through self-referential first-person speech narratives that describe a separation from home and the desire to return to it; how these narratives connect the characters' past and present together through a coherent account that has at its centre the mutual relationship between the narrating subject and his/her own community (family ties included). In addition, these autobiographical narratives are peculiar because, being uttered by women, they articulate *nostoi* motifs from a female perspective.

Furthermore, the aetiological epilogue of this tragedy offers a further element of interest. The epilogue connects to two of the paramount functions of *nostos* narratives: creating the condition for a positive interaction between different cultures, and providing *poleis* with a way to promote themselves in the Greek world. The aetiological element establishes a relationship between the audience's time and that of the Trojan cycle, thus consolidating the bond between myth and living experience.

What place does the concept of *nostos* hold in Greek tragedy, a genre much concerned with retelling myth in a way that tests the categories of ordinary Greek life, stretches the boundaries of household

[2] On this crucial point see Lowe, this volume pp. 179–80.

[3] On how narratives of return relate to the shared human need to anchor individuals to a community see Whitmarsh 2011: 1–21, esp. 15.

[4] 'Identity' can be commonly understood to refer to three aspects of human experience: single person, group of individuals, and relationship between these two dimensions (Handler 1994: 28). Narratives of return privilege this last aspect.

and civic state, and questions their mutual relationship? In this volume, Lowe argues that nearly all Greek tragedies connect with the patterns of *nostoi* and, indeed, have a *nostos* as one of their key features.[5] Nevertheless, the occurrences of the word *nostos* and its cognates are fewer than sixty, of which at least two thirds are from Euripidean plays. Even tragedies that have conventionally come to be called '*nostos* plays', such as Sophocles' *Women of Trachis* and Euripides' *Herakles*,[6] use no word belonging to the semantic field of *nostos* to describe the hero's return.[7] The word *nostos* may appear only once in some plays, without cognates, or become a sort of leitmotif in a few others. In accordance with the epic tradition most occurrences relate to the returns of the Homeric heroes from Troy, and when this is the case, these may carry no further connotation than simply referring to the journey home of the Achaians collectively or of a single Achaian hero.[8] In many instances, however, the tragedians use *nostos* and its cognates in contexts that show a certain level of engagement with how the theme of homecoming came to be elaborated in the literary tradition from the Archaic period onwards. Thus, specific connotations associate with these terms according to consistent patterns of thought; this occurs in relation to heroes connected to the Trojan War, heroes belonging to other mythical contexts, and non-heroes.

The tragedians seem fully aware that *nostos* could refer to a safe movement either towards or away from a place,[9] but also that the latter would have been the most expected meaning. Therefore, when they use *nostos* for 'journey to', it is never casual.[10] In two of these cases, Sophocles' *Philoktetes* and Euripides' *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, the

[5] Lowe, this volume pp. 185–6.

[6] The expression was coined by Oliver Taplin, who considers the '*nostos* play' par excellence Aeschylus' *Agamemnon,* together with the *Persians,* Sophocles' *Women of Trachis*, and Euripides' *Herakles*. These are all tragedies in which the return of the male head of the household is linked to a catastrophe (1977: 124). See further bibliography in Alexopoulou 2009: 39 n. 95.

[7] In Euripides' *Herakles*, the chorus use the adjective *anostimos* for the journey of the hero's children to the underworld (431).

[8] For the *nostos* of the Achaians: A. *Ag*. 812, S. *TrGF* 887, E. *Tro*. 167, E. *IT* 527, 662; of Agamemnon: A. *Ag*. 989; of Menelaos: A. *Ag*. 618 and E. *Andr*. 971 (*νοστέω*).

[9] Already Homer uses this term to indicate both 'return' and 'journey to' (e.g. *Od*. 5.344). This is due to the core meaning of *nostos*, which relates to a *safe* arrival to a place: Bonifazi 2009, esp. 500–1.

[10] Nevertheless, see the *Rhesos* (427: journey to Troy without any specific implication), a play whose authorship is much debated.

action takes place before the end of the conflict at Troy, but this does not seem to be why the word is used in that sense. Leaving the analysis of Euripides until later, we can see that the closure of Sophocles' *Philoktetes* takes advantage of the multidirectional meaning of *nostos* (1471),[11] as the chorus ask for a safe return/journey to Troy.[12] From the chorus' perspective, this *nostos* is effectively a return to Troy, as they are members of Neoptolemos' crew, but from that of the protagonist this is a further journey far from home. Furthermore, the word catches the attention because it crystallizes the reversal of the actions staged in the play. Throughout the course of the action, Philoktetes has vehemently expressed his desire to be taken home from Lemnos, and Neoptolemos has deceitfully offered him help, but with the real intention of taking him to Troy instead. Neoptolemos later feels remorse, tells Philoktetes the truth, and restores his bow to him. By the end of the play, Philoktetes is about to be taken back to Greece, but prompted by the intervention of Herakles, he changes his mind and agrees to be taken to Troy and fight for the Greeks' victory.

The appearance of *nostos* in the epilogue reminds us of Philoktetes' struggle, which in turn connects to one of the main themes of the play: the contrast between what is desired by the individual and what is needed by the group. This *nostos* reconciles the single man with his community and restores his position within it. This *nostos* to Troy foreshadows his return from there to Greece, which in turn will finally confirm the identity he had lost in the solitude of the island.

In Euripides' *Helen*, the tragedian combines instances of the noun *nostos* with a fairly frequent use of the verb *nostō*. While *nostos* holds the familiar meaning of return home (E. *Hel.* 877, 884), the verb does not. Two occurrences refer respectively to Menelaos' movements in Egypt and his arrival there (428 and 891), a third describes Helen's arrival from the Peloponnese (474), and only towards the end of the play a fourth is used about Helen's return to her fatherland (*patrida nostēsai*, 1025). This defamiliarizing use of *nostō* — rather than *erchomai*, for example — seems programmatic. The instances related to Menelaos' actions could be meant to remind the audience that the hero is still on his way back home, and could consequently underline Menelaos' paradoxical situation: the Homeric hero is fully engaged in his efforts to take Helen back from Troy, whereas in fact she never

[11] On this concept see Malkin, this volume, p. 83.
[12] On this passage see Lowe, this volume, p. 191.

went there. The use of the verb about Helen seems rather to increase the irony created by the misleading conversation of the old woman with Menelaos at the beginning of the play.

In the tragedies that revolve around the aftermath of the Trojan War, *nostos* and its cognates are often used in relation to the homecoming of the Greek heroes in either prayers for a safe return or curses against it. Thus, for example, Neoptolemos prays for a safe return for the Greeks, when he sacrifices Polyxena in *Hekabe* (545); while Athena repeatedly curses it in *Trojan Women*,[13] and so does Iphigeneia against Odysseus in *Iphigeneia in Tauris* (535).

Asking for yourself what you desire the most, and instead wanting to deprive your enemies of it, seem to be typical feelings connected to the idea of return in tragedy. Indeed, the same oppositional contexts also appear in mythological settings different from that of the Trojan War. According to some oracles, the self-sacrifice of Herakles' daughter in *Herakleidai* (587) and that of Menoikeus, Kreon's son, in *Phoenician Women* (949–50) should respectively help Herakles' children to return to the Peloponnese and ensure the Argives' non-return from their attack against Thebes. The idea of defeating your enemies by giving them a bad *nostos*, or by making them positively *anostoi* (i.e. depriving them of return), is a recurrent theme. In *Herakleidai* the prayer for a safe return is juxtaposed with a curse for the opposite to happen, uttered at the end of the play. In this tragedy, there are two sets of Herakles' descendants, those on the stage and their progenies. While the return of the first group to the Peloponnese is hoped for, and indeed anticipated by the positive outcome of the conflict against Eurystheus, the return of the still unborn Herakleidai is cursed instead. In fact, this return to Athens is not a movement towards the Peloponnesian fatherland, but the exact opposite. Eurystheus' tomb in Attica will become a sort of shield for Athens against the descendants of Herakles, as the hero proclaims that he will repay them with a bad *nostos*.[14] The king's words shift the action from mythical time to the present time of the audience: the Herakleidai correspond to the Spartans who will begin war against Athens.[15]

[13] *δύσνοστον αὐτοῖς νόστον ἐμβαλεῖν θέλω* (66, cf. 75); on this passage see Scheer, this volume, p. 129.

[14] *κακὸν γὰρ αὐτοῖς νόστον ἀντὶ τῶνδ' ἐγὼ / δώσω* (E. *Hkld.* 1042–3).

[15] Wilkins 1993: xiii.

Similarly, in Euripides' *Suppliants*, a *kakos nostos* ('bad return') connotes Athena's threat against the Argives, uttered to deter future military attacks against Athens. This time the goddess compels Adrastos to swear the oath that no Argive will ever be an enemy of Athens. A sacrificial knife will be buried in the ground to seal this oath, which, as a sort of talisman, will guarantee a 'terrible return' to the Argives if they break their promise.[16] Here again Euripides alludes to the contemporary political situation. As in *Herakleidai*, he inserts an aetiological detail to create a bridge from mythical times to his own: there Eurystheus' tomb, here the dagger and the tripod on which the oath will be inscribed.[17] In both instances the epic idea of a cursed return stretches the action of the play into an indefinite future that belongs to the audience, too. Another threat of miserable homecoming is usually compared to the two Euripidean passages just mentioned. This curse is uttered towards the end of *Bacchai*, when Dionysos foresees that a certain barbarian army will try to attack Delphi, only to gain a 'wretched return' instead.[18] Scholars cannot identify the historical event with certainty.[19] This, combined with the lack of a precise aetiological detail, makes it harder to compare this prediction with the previous ones. Nevertheless, this seems to be a further example of Euripides' way of using cursed returns to connect the time of the living with that of the myth. This literary feature will later be exploited by Lykophron in his *Alexandra*.[20]

In contrast, Oidipous' curse against his son Polyneikes in Sophocles' *Oidipous at Kolonos* does not have a similar function: '. . . so that you shall never conquer your native land in war, or return to hollow Argos'.[21] In this case the tragedian anticipates mythical events well known to the audience and the action is kept within the scope of the Oidipous saga. The same happens a few lines later, when Polyneikes expresses his determination to defy his father's curse and move

[16] *φόβον γὰρ αὐτοῖς, ἤν ποτ' ἔλθωσιν πόλιν, / δειχθεῖσα θήσει καὶ κακὸν νόστον πάλιν*, (E. *Supp.* 1208–9).

[17] For the cult of Eurystheus at Athens see Strabo 8.6.19 (Seaford 2009: 225–8). For the reality of the existence of the tripod see Collard 1975: *ad loc.*; Seaford 2009: 223–4.

[18] *ὅταν δὲ Λοξίου χρηστήριον / διαρπάσωσι, νόστον ἄθλιον πάλιν / σχήσουσι* (E. *Ba.* 1336–8).

[19] Dodds 1960 and Seaford 1997: *ad loc.*

[20] Biffis 2012: ch. 2.5.

[21] *. . . μήτε γῆς ἐμφυλίου / δόρει κρατῆσαι μήτε νοστῆσαί ποτε / τὸ κοῖλον Ἄργος*, . . . (S. *OC* 1385–7).

against Thebes. At that very moment he asks his sisters, if they ever return home,[22] to bury him there with the honour he deserves. The allusion to Sophocles' *Antigone* is obvious. The connection between successful *nostos* with the right to an appropriate burial is used again by Euripides in the *Herakleidai*. As mentioned earlier, the daughter of Herakles, later called Makaria, will propitiate the return of her siblings to Argos by giving up her own life. While getting ready to be sacrificed, she asks her brothers to attend to her last rites once back home (E. *Hkld*. 588). Her request is astonishing, given the lapse of time that will pass between the time of the action and the wished-for outcome.[23] Nevertheless, Makaria's words draw attention towards the connection between *nostos* and honorable death. Being deprived of return means being deprived not only of victory, but also of appropriate funerary rites.[24] The pain that comes with this further aggravation of death is a recurrent theme in Greek poetry.[25]

A particular topos is thus implied by Makaria's and Polyneikes' choice of vocabulary. Their *nostos* is not a simple return, but one very much wished for, to the extent that desire for it carries on even after death. In addition, as in the case of the return for which one prays, these homecomings appear uncertain. The uncertainty of the journey is an important characteristic of *nostos*. In Euripides' *Helen*, Theonoe reminds Menelaos of how uncertain his return to Greece is (877) and how it is on the verge of being aborted by Aphrodite (884). Again, in Euripides' *Alkesti*s, Herakles, before leaving for his labours, entrusts a woman—in reality Alkestis—as wife to her legitimate, but ignorant, husband Admetos. As he does so, he refers to the uncertainty of his own return by using not just the optative, but also the verb *nostō*.[26]

[22] *καί τις ὑμὶν ἐς δόμους / νόστος γένηται* ... (S. *OC* 1408–9).

[23] On possible aetiological implications see Wilkins 1994: *ad loc*.

[24] Consider how the iconography of many funerary monuments blur the distinction between the feature of a proper *naiskos* and a house, which might hint at a representation of the deceased's *oikos*. The importance of the relationship between the deceased and his land is manifested in the removal of cadaver and bones outside the frontiers of the deceased's land as ultimate punishment against him and his *genos*: Glotz 1904: 460–1, cited by Kurke 1991: 15.

[25] E.g. Simonides speaks of how Kleisthenes was cheated of his sweet *nostos* and foreign dust covered his body, *FGE* 994–7 (Simonides LXXII); Kassandra rejoices at the thought of how many Greek heroes were deprived of burial in their land in Euripides' *Trojan Women* (377–83); Lykophron fully explores this theme in *Alexandra* (365–72, 415–16, 908, 1155).

[26] *νοστήσαιμι* (E. *Al*. 1023). On Herakles' paradoxical fear of non-return, immediately after he has defeated death, see Parker 2007: *ad loc*.

Admetos echoes the hero's words in the closure of the play, when he wishes for him a speedy return, *nostimon dromon* (1153). In Euripides' *Suppliants*, by contrast, the use of the word *nostos* by the chorus to welcome the arrival of such a non-heroic figure as the messenger reveals the focalization of the action: desired, but uncertain (641). This double connotation is emphasized in a Sophoclean occurrence of the word. In *Aias*, when the chorus learn that the hero has died, they shout 'alas for (my hopes of) return! You have killed me, your fellow-sailor, my lord.'[27] Desire and uncertainty of homecoming are replaced by feelings of hopelessness. The third stasimon elaborates on this first reaction to the catastrophic news. The Salaminian soldiers sing of how much suffering they have endured on the Trojan shore and how this has now become an endless predicament. As they have been abandoned by their leader, they can only long for a Greece that now seems more than ever unreachable (1218–22).

In tragedy the semantics of *nostos* presupposes a natural desire for going back home, the fulfilment of which appears somewhat problematic, ranging from uncertain to hopeless. The typical situation that entails departure is war, as in the Trojan saga. From this perspective, what you wish for yourself is what you want your enemy to be deprived of. Against this antagonistic feeling towards your opponent, *nostos* counterpoises the sympathetic emotions felt by your dear ones. The same emotions are shared by those who have left and those who are waiting for their returns. The two ends of a journey are thus connected. Aeschylus fully elaborates this concept in two of his tragedies, the only plays where he uses the word *nostos* and its cognates: *Persians* and *Agamemnon*.

In *Persians*, Aeschylus transfers the key elements of stories of return so far highlighted to a non-heroic setting. Not only are we not in the mythological world, but also, even if we are at war, the play focuses not on the battlefield but on the situation experienced by those waiting at home. The noble Persian elders open the scene, expressing anxiety for the soldiers that have left for Greece, wondering if they and the king will ever come home.[28] These programmatic lines introduce the return of the army as the main theme. The more

[27] *ὤμοι ἐμῶν νόστων· / ὤμοι, κατέπεφνες, ἄναξ* (S. *Aj.* 900–1). Their dependence on the hero is a theme that gets rephrased later (1211–15), and touched upon by Teukros also, at 980, 1006–23: Finglass 2011: *ad loc.*

[28] *ἀμφὶ δὲ νόστῳ τῷ βασιλείῳ* (A. *Pers.* 8).

the action develops the less likely this seems to be. In a climatic sequence, first a messenger arrives and says that he was not expecting to see the day of his return (261); then, Dareios confirms that the majority of the army will not have salvation (*nostimou sōtērias* 797); finally, Xerxes arrives in rags at his court welcomed with a cry of sorrow (935).[29] Although the king has saved his own life, his homecoming represents a complete reversal because it does not include that of the soldiers. Their unsuccessful *nostos* contrasts with the previous victorious *nostoi* of Dareios' soldiers (862). Xerxes' homecoming is a sort of failed return because it does not satisfy the desire of the people waiting for him back home, which has been the counterpart of the *nostos* theme throughout the action. The *pothos* of the Persian women for their husbands (136, 542) echoes that of the city (512) and of the whole community, which does not cease even after the announcement of the tragic defeat (992).[30]

In *Agamemnon*, another king returns from the battlefield. This time Aeschylus presents both a victorious and a traditional epic *nostos* (812; cf. 618 for Menelaos). Nevertheless, the expectation that any hero's return implies a happy ending clashes against the bitter realization that homecoming does not guarantee going back to what one left. The tragedy focuses on the mismatch between the mindset of the person who has come back and that of those who have stayed home. Desire for homecoming does not appear shared between the two as one would expect according to the categories of ordinary Greek life.[31] Agamemnon's wife has not been waiting for her husband's return, despite her prayer for his *nostimos sōtēria* (343) at the beginning of the play. The insincerity of Klytaimestra's celebration of the king's safe homecoming will be later revealed by Kassandra to the Argive elders (again *nostimos sōtēria*, 1238). Klytaimestra's deceitful position is opposed to that of the chorus, who were genuinely wishing for their army to come back,[32] as in *Persians*. In the third stasimon the old men of Argos think of Agamemnon's *nostos* (989), which they have

[29] A. *Pers.* 935–40: *πρόσφθογγόν σοι †νόστου τὰν† / κακοφατίδα βοάν, κακομέλετον ἰὰν / Μαριανδυνοῦ θρηνητῆρος / πέμψω πέμψω πολύδακρυν*, 'for your return (?), I shall send forth, send forth, a shout of ill-omened cries . . . ' (etc.). Sophocles seems to recall this passage when the chorus remembers Agamemnon's *nostos* in his *Elektra*: *οἰκτρὰ μὲν νόστοις αὐδά*, 'there was a pitiful cry at his return' (193), but see Finglass 2007: ad loc.

[30] For *pothos* as a key concept in *nostos* narratives see above, Introduction, pp. 15–16.

[31] On these expectations see Scheer, this volume, p. 133.

[32] *ποθεῖν ποθοῦντα . . . στρατόν* (A. *Ag.* 545).

just witnessed. Their previous fears about his safety should be forgotten, but instead they have anxious foreboding that their master's return is not yet accomplished, as indeed it will not be (995–1000). Their apprehensive thoughts mirror the problematic status of the hero, whose role as head of the household has not yet been restored—a concept echoed by the juxtaposition of *telesphorois dīnais* (996) and *es to mē telesphoron* (1000) in the chorus' lyric.[33]

If the *Odyssey* offers through Odysseus' return the heroic representation of the normative framework of living, the first play of Aeschylus' *Oresteia* trilogy stages what Homer presents as its dreadful counterpart: Agamemnon's assassination. In the *Odyssey*, Agamemnon, who is repeatedly said to have been murdered at his *nostos* by his wife,[34] represents the opposite to the paradigmatic model of the relationship between Odysseus and Penelope.[35] The reciprocal desire for homecoming that husband and wife should mutually feel when separated one from another, is epitomized by the idea of a faithful woman who waits for her husband's return in his absence.[36] By doing that she preserves the honour of her husband and the integrity of the household until, once back, the head of the family resumes his role. Aeschylus' Klytaimestra openly attacks this image (e.g. A. *Ag*. 855–65) and the chorus sarcastically use it to disparage Aigisthos, who instead of going to war is a woman who stays at home awaiting the *nostos* of the man (1625–6).

Female agency with respect to male *nostos* can be positive or negative. Marital fidelity or sex outside the boundaries of the *oikos* (the house or the household) seem to be the ultimate cause of this opposition. Penelope's obstinacy in remembering her departed husband ensures the continuity of his presence in Ithaka, while Klytaimestra's betrayal produces the opposite effect. Kirke, Kalypso, and Nausikaa, who essentially represent sexual attraction outside the *oikos*, are opposed to Penelope's female power within the *oikos*.

[33] 'eddies of fulfilment', 'towards the (condition of the) unfulfilled'.

[34] *ἐν νόστῳ δ' ἀπόλοντο κακῆς ἰότητι γυναικός* (*Od.* 11.384, cf. 1.36, 24.96).

[35] In particular, *Od.* 24.192–202; cf. 3.254–312; 4.90–2; 11.405–34; 24.96–7. For a synopsis of all occurrences and their different perspectives see Prag 1985: 68–84.

[36] Nagy 1979: 36–9; Zeitlin 1995: 117–52; Felson and Slatkin 2004: 106–12. Compare how Euripides describes Alkmene's waiting for the return of her grandson, Hyllos (*πάλαι γὰρ ὠδίνουσα τῶν ἀφιγμένων / ψυχὴν ἐτήκου νόστος εἰ γενήσεται*, E. *Hkld*. 645), even if this is not a marital relationship. On waiting women as 'an essential precondition of the *nostos*' see Alexopoulou 2009: 42–56, esp. 42.

While the first set of women, together with the Sirens, represent the centrifugal forces that act to dissolve Odysseus' identity, Penelope, strictly linked to Ithaka, has a centripetal effect instead. Homer explores the positive interrelation between Odysseus' return and Penelope's constancy, while he mentions Klytaimestra's betrayal only briefly; conversely, Aeschylus focuses on the active role that women have with respect to male *nostos*, by staging the subversion of the Homeric model of marital relationship.

Upon their return, the relationship of the Homeric heroes with the community they belong to is mediated through their wives, and their identities are therefore affected by female agency. In *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, Euripides explores the interaction between female sphere, *nostos*, and male identity through the story of two siblings: Orestes and Iphigeneia. Orestes has been told by Apollo that to obtain final purification from the matricide and restore his position in Argos he must rescue his sister Iphigeneia and bring her back home from the land of the Taurians (81–3). Meanwhile, in Tauris, Iphigeneia herself has been counting on her brother's intervention to be taken back home. During the first encounter between the two, Orestes does not want to reveal his identity, when Iphigeneia enquires about it. To deflect Iphigeneia's interrogation, he conceals himself behind the sophistic opposition between *sōma* and *onoma*, 'body' and 'name' (500, 504), which is only partially overcome through the mention of his home country (508): Orestes has indeed left it and feels himself lost in the world.[37] Nevertheless, when Iphigeneia understands that he is an Argive, she begs him to take a letter back home to her brother, in which she asks to be brought back to Argos from Tauris (774–6); if her brother refuses the help she needs, and thus breaks the bonds of kinship, she will curse what will therefore become his house and his alone (779–80). Iphigeneia's desire for a *nostos* leads the two siblings to their mutual recognition. This is the pivotal moment of the play, after which Orestes in turn will make an appeal to his sister to save their house and to bring him to safety.[38]

The end of the suffering of both protagonists leads to their joint *nostoi*, but Iphigeneia's help towards the success of Orestes' mission and his return from exile to Argos means not only their shared rescue,

[37] *κοὐδαμοῦ καὶ πανταχοῦ* ('nowhere and everywhere', E. *IT* 568). Unless specified otherwise, the Greek text is taken from L. Parker 2016.

[38] *σῶσον πατρῶιον οἶκον, ἔκσωσον δ' ἐμε* (E. *IT* 984).

but more importantly the salvation of the *oikos*, too. The interrelation between the house of Atreus and the safety of Orestes is clear from Iphigeneia's misunderstanding of her dream at the beginning of the play (45–55), according to which the imagined falling of her house in Argos signified her brother's death. Therefore, later in the play, when a joint escape seems impossible, she does not doubt that her brother rather than herself should win a *nostos,*[39] because a woman is not of much use to the house (1005–6). Contrary to her conclusion, however, in the play she herself, as the female character, assumes a fundamental role in granting a successful return home to herself and to her male counterpart (besides the essential divine intervention of Athena).[40]

Euripides' exploration in the play of this sort of 'female perspective on *nostos*' overlaps with a more traditional framing of *nostos* stories. Orestes' and Pylades' situation in Tauris recalls the 'default meaning' of the epic *nostos*:[41] surviving of a sea voyage to and from an unfamiliar place in a mythical context. Unexpectedly, however, the first stasimon takes the two characters temporarily away from the heroic dimension, as their sudden appearance on the shore makes the chorus think of them as merchants eager to grow rich (cf. *philoplouton*, 411). Euripides momentarily draws attention to traders who, like the Achaians of Troy, are accustomed to leave home, pursue a goal by sea, risk shipwreck, and face possible dangers on a foreign shore. Nevertheless, when the chorus wonders about the identity of the sailors, the two characters have already presented their arrival in the context of a heroic *nostos* for the benefit of the audience; indeed, during their first appearance on stage, Pylades tells Orestes that there should be no *nostos* for them unless they accomplish what they undertook the journey for, because one cannot set off to reach a place and simply go back (117).[42]

This is the first occurrence of the word *nostos* in the play. Afterwards, Euripides uses it several times: first in relation to the Achaian

[39] *τούτου δὲ χωρισθεῖσ' ἐγὼ μὲν ὄλλυμαι, / σὺ δ' ἂν τὸ σαυτοῦ θέμενος εὖ νόστου τύχοις* (E. *IT* 1002–3).

[40] Euripides often draws attention to Iphigeneia's agency (E. *IT* 131, 748, 798–800, 1041–7, 1214): Hall 2013: 40–3. Consider how Iphigeneia stresses her role in inflicting on strangers a cruel death (rather than a homecoming) at E. *IT* 224–8.

[41] Bonifazi 2009: 486–92.

[42] Pylades' statement recalls Odysseus' speech to the Achaians at the beginning of the *Iliad* (2. 296–8).

nostoi (527, 536, and 662), then in relation to the homecoming of the characters of the play (751, 1003, 1016, 1019, 1066, and 1112). Implicitly this seems to establish a sort of parallelism between the two sets of heroes. Just as Odysseus longs for his return to Ithaka as the ultimate relief from his ongoing suffering, so the two siblings repeatedly lament their necessity to be back in Greece. After their mutual recognition, the main challenge faced by Iphigeneia and Orestes is to find a way to escape Tauris and find a safe return.

Their dialogues revolve around the core meaning of the word *nostos*, which opposes the idea of saving oneself/one's life against death.[43] Homecoming in the play is the primary concern of the characters and so they cannot think of anything worse to take away from themselves or others. Consider Iphigeneia's curse against Odysseus' return from Troy (535) or the fact that Pylades cannot think of a more terrible punishment to proclaim against himself than the denial of return (751), just as Iphigeneia does when they exchange their reciprocal oath. For them, missing their *nostos* is the equivalent of death.

When Iphigeneia offers her own life to secure her brother's return (1003), and Orestes refuses it, she turns to the chorus for help. This is composed of Greek captive women, attendants of the temple of Artemis under Iphigeneia's supervision. To convince them to facilitate her escape, she presents her return to Greece as a matter of life or death.[44] It is not hard for her to convey this idea, as the first stasimon has made already clear that these women share the same feeling of the protagonists and long dearly for home. Thus, in exchange for their help Iphigeneia cannot offer anything more precious than the promise that once in Greece she will in turn arrange for their homecoming (1068–9).

These Greek women enslaved in Tauris, who dream of their old lives back home, mirror the protagonists' frustration and desire. The similarity of their torments magnifies further the theme of *nostos*. From their first entrance, they have drawn attention to their rich homeland, which they have been obliged to leave (132–6) to live

[43] Based on the reconstructed meaning of the Indo-European root, *nes- 'save oneself', as analysed by Bonifazi 2009: 492–4. She draws attention to the frequency of the combination of words *nostos* and (*ap*)*ollumai* in Homer, following Pignani 1995: 450. See further above, Introduction, pp. 6–7, for the connection between saving and returning, and for the Greek roots for each concept.

[44] ἢ γῆς πατρώιας νόστος ἢ θανεῖν ἔχει (E. *IT* 1066).

instead in an inhospitable place (403); soon after, they have voiced their desire to be freed (447) and the pains of their slavery (450–1); they have lamented over their dreaming of their lost happiness, which they experienced at home (452–5). When Iphigeneia asks the girls for help, the audience feel the painful opposition between her own forthcoming *nostos* and the chorus' destiny of non-return. They are ready to help the protagonists to reach home, but will have to be left behind themselves, at least for the time being.

At this point the chorus utter the word *nostos* (1112). The second stasimon focuses on the captives' plight in contrast to Iphigeneia's forthcoming escape. They compare themselves to a wingless bird (*apteros ornis*, 1095) which cannot return to the marketplaces of Greece. Thus, they draw attention to the painful events that led to such a miserable situation. They remember the war that made them captives (1108–9) and, strikingly, they speak of their barbarous journey (*noston barbaron,* 1112). As pointed out before, the idea of multidirectionality is intrinsic to the word *nostos* (and its cognates), whose core meaning relates to the idea of a safe arrival. The chorus indeed survived the capture of their land and safely reached the foreign land of Tauris. Nevertheless, this is not a journey towards a desired place. Moreover, given that the chorus' song clearly emphasizes their longing for Greece (cf. the anaphoric *pothousa* at 1096 and 1097), the association of *nostos* with the adjective *barbaros* has an oxymoronic effect. This draws attention to how another important theme of the play, the opposition between foreigner and Greek, intertwines with the theme of return.[45]

Therefore, the chorus juxtapose the imminent departure of Iphigeneia, who will finally be taken back to her Greek home,[46] with their impossible wish for the same journey. In the last strophe of the song the chorus acquire the wings (1141–2) that they did not have at the beginning of it, to make a fictitious arrival at their old virginal rooms.[47] The Greece they long for at the end of the stasimon is that of their lost youth. They wish to be again a young *parthenos* (1144) of a noble family (*eudokimōn domōn,* 1146), who attends public

[45] Consider the multiple elements that in the stasimon oppose Greece to Tauris: *Ἄρτεμιν λοχίαν* (E. *IT* 1097) vs *ταῖς ἐλαφοκτόνου / θεᾶς* (1113–14); *πολεμίων ἐρετμοῖσι καὶ λόγχαις* (1110) vs *Ἀργεία / πεντηκόντερος* (1123–4); *βωμούς τ' οὐ μηλοθύτας* (1116) vs human sacrifices.

[46] *οἶκον ἄξει* (E. *IT* 1124); *ἄξει λιπαρὰν / εὖ σ' Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ γᾶν* (1131–2).

[47] *οἰκείων δ' ὑπὲρ θαλάμων* (E. *IT* 1140).

celebrations, where there is dancing and singing in the company of peers (*hēlikōn thiasous*, 1147), under the parental gaze (*philās māteros*, 1145–6): such activities traditionally offered opportunities to find a suitable husband.[48] The stasimon describes their feet moving rapidly, their loose hair and their luxurious clothing and ornaments, coming together to make them win a contest of graceful charm.[49] All these details give a snapshot of a typical girlhood experience, as described, for example, in Alkman's *Partheneion* and other poetic texts.[50] Their wish to take part in such celebration represents an impossible journey in time which corresponds to an equally impossible journey to Greece.

All these elements are implicit reminders of what the chorus have lost: the chance to get married and so become women. Therefore, this final strophe makes more explicit what was already implied by several features of the first: in particular, the comparison of the chorus' singing to the halcyon's woes for her lost husband (1093) and the longing for Artemis Lochia (1097), the goddess of Delos as opposed to the Taurian. The image of the widow and the reference to Artemis Lochia, the divinity who protects childbirth, suggest that the Greek women are deploring how the possibility of having a family has been taken away from them.

Their words, delivered in the first person, constitute a self-reflective narrative similar to Odysseus' speech at the court of the Phaiakians; his nostalgic description of Ithaka (*Od.* 9.21–8) echoes the chorus' descriptions of the fertile Hellenic landscape in contrast to the bare Tauris (E. *IT* 1098–1105, cf. 132–6 and 400–2); to Ithaka he then opposes Kalypso's hollow cave and Kirke's halls. By mentioning his refusal to marry these women he confirms the strength of his bond to his wife at home. He concludes this brief prologue to the full narrative of his misfortunes by proclaiming that nothing is sweeter than a man's own land and his parents.[51] Homeland and family ties come

[48] Calame 1977: 66 and 77–9.

[49] *πλοκάμους περιβαλλομένα* (E. *IT* 1151); *ἁβροπλούτοιο χαίτας*, *πολυποίκιλα φάρεα* (1149–50); *ἐς ἁμίλλας χαρίτων* (1147).

[50] *PMGF* 1. 64–9 (finery), 51–4, 70 (hair, cf. Archil. fr. 31 W), 39–63 (a competition of grace); cf. the closing lines of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* for a very similar description (1307–13); more *ad loc.* in Parker 2016; Kyriakou 2006; Cropp 2000. On the distinctively parthenaic features of this stasimon see Swift 2010: 208–13.

[51] *ὡς οὐδὲν γλύκιον ἧς πατρίδος οὐδὲ τοκήων / γίνεται . . .* (*Od.* 9.34–5). On this passage see Lowe, this volume, pp. 181–2.

together to define him as Odysseus. The second stasimon of *Iphigeneia in Tauris* and the speech of the Homeric Odysseus are both narratives that describe the speaker's own detachment from home and the wish to be able to return to it. The former is expressed from a female, the latter from a male perspective; but they share the idea of *nostos* as a means to think of oneself through a story that defines one's identity in relation to the place one holds in his or her family and community.

In particular, for the captive women being back home and fully experiencing life (moving from childhood to adulthood) are both necessary elements to build their identities and secure a place in society. This is something they can only dream of, as in the first stasimon, where they imagine a reconnection with their city and family as a source of collective harmony for themselves, their community, and their household.[52] This is epitomized by the girls' enjoyment of hymns, a situation that mirrors the dancing celebrations of the second stasimon. Both songs interweave past and present through the recollection of maidenhood experiences that foregrounds the mutual relationship between the singers and their own community. In the tragedy, Iphigeneia speaks of herself in a similar way. At the beginning she expresses her longing for Argos by opposing her lost bright girlhood (208 and 221–5) to her dark present (218–20 and 226–9). She laments that now she can no longer occupy her time in singing and working at the loom, as a Greek maiden would (221–4), but must instead perform human sacrifices (225–8). She refers to Hera at Argos (221) and Pallas in Attica (223), hinting at the Heraia and the Panathenaia, public events during which girls offered beautiful woven clothes.[53] Therefore, as the chorus will do at the end of the play, Iphigeneia also presents an impossible return to her maidenhood at its beginning. Both Iphigeneia and the captive women speak of a lost stage in life that granted them expression within society, in opposition to the present service at the temple of the Taurian Artemis, which cuts them off from it.

[52] *<κἀν> γὰρ ὀνείροισι συνείην δόμοις πόλει τε πατρώιαι, τερπνῶν ὕπνων ἀπόλαυσιν, κοινὰν χάριν †ὅλβα†* (E. *IT* 452–5).

[53] Cropp 2000: *ad loc*. For the weaving activities connected to the festival of Hera at Argos see Paus. 5.16.2. Compare the reference to maidens' singing for Hera at Argos in E. *El*. 173–4 in Swift 2010: 190.

When Iphigeneia vehemently asserts that she is nothing without her fatherland and her brother Orestes,[54] thus juxtaposing her ties to state and family, as in the speeches of Odysseus and the chorus mentioned above, the audience can appreciate how much her future is strictly bound to her brother's. Indeed, she has been prevented from making a proper transition to adulthood through marriage, when as a young *parthenos* she was sacrificed to Artemis by her father. She is 'a bride, alas, ill-wedded',[55] who, even though not actually killed during the ritual, had been taken away to Tauris 'marriageless, childless, cityless, friendless'.[56] When Iphigeneia remembers how her father sacrificed her to propitiate the Greeks' journey to Troy, she focuses on how this prevented her from fulfilling her expectations as a young girl who had reached marital age (26–9, 211–20, 359–79, 538–9, 856–60) rather than on resentment towards Agamemnon. In her most detailed recollection, her immolation to Artemis turns into a marriage to Hades.[57] Her wording echoes a well-known cultural metaphor according to which the premature death of a girl is presented as a marriage to death.[58] Even if Iphigeneia has not died, she is still deprived of everything that traditionally means fulfilment in a female life.

From this perspective, the ending of the play does not fully meet the expectation that homecoming would entail a reintegration of Iphigeneia in Argos and a reunion with her lost family through Orestes. From Athena's words the audience infers a real return to Argos only for Orestes and Pylades, after they have taken the statue of Artemis to Halai in Attica (1446–61); the chorus, too, will return to Greece (1467–9, 1482–3). But Iphigeneia will have to die at Brauron in Attica (1462–7). On the one hand, Iphigeneia enables the preservation of her brother's *oikos*, just as Penelope does for Odysseus, on the other, she will no longer share her life with the family she has

[54] *ἢ μηδὲν εἶναι καὶ στερηθῆναι πάτρας / φίλου τ' ἀδελφοῦ φιλτάτης τε συγγόνου* (E. *IT* 1058–9).

[55] *νύμφαν, οἴμοι, δύσνυμφον* (E. *IT* 216).

[56] *ἄγαμος ἄτεκνος ἄπολις ἄφιλος* (E. *IT* 220).

[57] *Ἅιδης Ἀχιλλεὺς ἦν ἄρ', οὐχ ὁ Πηλέως, / ὃν μοι προτείνας πόσιν ἐν ἁρμάτων ὄχοις / ἐς αἱματηρὸν γάμον ἐπόρθμευσας δόλωι* (E. *IT* 369–71).

[58] This depends on the similarity between death and marital rituals, and on how marriage was considered the end of one stage in life, just like death: Redfield 1982: 188 and 190 and Rehm 1994: 1–29. For a study of this theme in tragedy (e.g. the tragic representation of figures such as Iphigeneia and Antigone) see Foley 1985: 85–7 and 88–90; Seaford 1987: 107–9 and Rehm 1994: 43–135.

nostalgically remembered during the play (e.g. 230–5 and 372–7), and will not have a new family to join either.

Women are meant to leave the *oikos* of their fathers and join that of their husbands, as symbolized by the hymenaeal procession.[59] They should move once in life, and only in one direction, as they become guarantors of the stability and survival of their new *oikos*.[60] Iphigeneia has missed her journey from the *oikos* of her father to the groom's house, the transition from one stage of life to the next; in addition, she has been denied the opportunity to reconnect with the identity that she felt she could regain again once back in Argos with her brother (1058–9).

Before investigating the 'failed *nostos*' of the heroine further, another Euripidean drama about Iphigeneia should be considered in parallel. *Iphigeneia at Aulis* presents the heroine as again a positive female agent in granting *nostos* to her male counterpart. In this tragedy, too, the word *nostos* occurs several times. If in *Iphigeneia in Tauris nostos* has a positive connotation for the protagonist, in this play, on the other hand, *nostos* is her direct antagonist. Euripides plays with the bidirectional meaning of the word *nostos*: the girl must be sacrificed for both the journey of the Achaians towards Troy (966, 1261) and for the return of Helen (882).[61] Kalchas prays for her sacrifice to be propitious to the *nostos* of the Greeks (1603); the word here could implicitly embrace both legs of the journey, to Troy and back, given the absence of movement locutions.

The contrast between the cruel destiny reserved for Iphigeneia and the positive outcome of this journey to and back from Troy (which seems therefore to symbolize the Trojan War itself) is stigmatized in Klytaimestra's rhetorical question at the midpoint of the play: 'so destiny wanted Helen's return at Iphigeneia's expense?'.[62] Iphigeneia echoes her when she becomes aware of her father's plan (1236–7); the

[59] The hymenaeal procession to the groom's house is the most salient moment of the marital ritual: Oakley and Sinos 1993: 26–34 and Rehm 1994: 14–18.

[60] On female mobility as something to be prevented see Scheer, this volume, p. 128.

[61] Line 966 is attributed to the reviser by Diggle, followed by Kovacs 2003: 92, for whom the counterfactual statement is not needed. Kovacs also considers lines later than line 1531 to be spurious, and so line 1603. This means that not only 966, but also 1603 (both of which use the word *nostos* as 'journey to') are problematic. In this chapter I indicate in footnotes those lines which are considered spurious by Kovacs, in his convincing publication on the reconstruction of the Euripidean version of the *Iphigenia in Aulis*.

[62] *εἰς ἄρ' Ἰφιγένειαν Ἑλένης νόστος ἦν πεπρωμένος* (E. *IA* 882); Collard and Morwood 2017, *ad loc.* interpret '*ἦν πεπρωμένος … εἰς*' as 'fated (to depend) upon Iphigenia'.

chorus also draws attention to Iphigeneia's victimization at the hands of Helen (1253–4). Such repetition makes the opposition between the two women an underlying theme of the play.[63] Between the two women is Agamemnon, who will secure Helen's journey back to her home, but will lead his own daughter to the house of Hades, as he himself says.[64] To the salvation of Helen's marriage, Euripides opposes 'the marriage to death' of his heroine.

What should be a cultural metaphor for the fated and premature death of a maiden is here used like a vehicle for a willingly pursued murder, as happens in *Iphigeneia in Tauris*. However, in *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, Euripides elaborates on the idea and plays with the similarities between sacrificial and marital ritual.[65] For much of the time Iphigeneia is kept in the dark about her father's plans. What she interprets as signs of her imminent wedding with Achilles are in reality all signs of the coming sacrifice. This ambiguity is fully overcome when Iphigeneia uses the image of marriage for death with full awareness in her speech of reversal towards the end of the play. As she finally embraces the idea of dying to save Greece, she says: 'I will give my body to Greece . . . this should be a memory of me that will last in time, my children, my wedding, my fame.'[66]

Turning the sacrifice of Iphigeneia into an act of self-sacrifice is in all probability an innovation of Euripides.[67] The self-sacrifice of a young maiden in association with the idea of *nostos* is fully explored in *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, but it is a recurrent topos in the Euripidean repertoire.[68] We know of six tragedies which staged a self-sacrifice.[69]

[63] On Iphigeneia as a victim and a sort of 'double' of Helen see Michelakis 2006: 51.

[64] *πρὶν Ἅιδηι παῖδ' ἐμὴν προσθῶ λαβών* (E. *IA* 540; cf. 1278 as presented by Klytaimestra, but this line may not be part of Euripides' version of the play: Kovacs 2003: 97).

[65] For a list of the main passages that build on this ambiguity see Collard and Morwood 2017: 11. Compare Foley 1985: 68–78. Euripides explores the similarities between marriage ritual and sacrifice in *Alkestis* and in the mouth of Kassandra in *Trojan Women*, taking the cue from Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*: Zeitlin 1967: 463–505; Foley 1985: 84–92; Loraux 1987: 31–48; Seaford 1987: 108–10.

[66] *δίδωμι σῶμα τοὐμὸν Ἑλλάδι . . . ταῦτα γὰρ μνημεῖά μου / διὰ μακροῦ καὶ παῖδες οὗτοι καὶ γάμοι καὶ δόξ' ἐμή* (E. *IA* 1398–9; cf. Agamemnon at 460).

[67] For a list of sources related to the myth of the sacrifice of Iphigeneia see Sorum 1992: 529 n. 8; cf. Collard and Morwood 2017: 3–6.

[68] On self-sacrifice in Euripides see Rabinowitz 1983: 21–6 and 1993: 31–66; Foley 1985: 65; Wilkins 1990: 177–94.

[69] Shared traits in the staging of self-sacrifice in these tragedies are summarized by Wilkins 1990: 183–5.

From those we can read in full, the word *nostos* appears constantly associated with this act; it would have been interesting to be able to confirm that this also was the case for the two partially lost plays *Phrixos* and *Erechtheus*. The sacrifice of a young member of the aristocracy to secure the result of a war appears in different texts in Greek literature, and scholars have debated the authenticity of this practice in ancient Greece.[70] In Euripides the sacrifice is voluntary and performed almost exclusively by a young woman.[71]

In chronological order, the first survived play that staged self-sacrifice of a maiden was *Herakleidai*.[72] Here one anonymous daughter of Herakles, later called Makaria, offers herself to save her siblings and the city of Athens, which has offered to protect them (E. *Hkd*. 472–607). Her words resemble closely those of Iphigeneia. She presents her death as a marriage (579; 591–2) and she associates the loss of markers of female maturity, such as a marital life and children, with her future renown (503–34, 588, cf. 623–4 as presented by the chorus). Her final desire is that her action may grant her brothers freedom from suffering, and bring about their return to Argos, so that she may be buried in Argos too.[73] Despite the fact that the play alludes to the return of the Herakleidai to the Peloponnese (310–11, cf. 875–8 without *nostos*), and this is presented as the natural purpose of the heroes once their troubles are over, the sacrifice of Makaria does not by itself bring the Herakleidai home. Nevertheless, the positive female agency in preserving the homeland, for which we have argued so far, does not seem completely absent from the play either. Even though she dies for the victory of a foreign city, Athens, her death turns the precarious and vulnerable status of her family members (14–15, 23–5, 31, 58, 223–31) into a secure life in a new 'provisional' home (621–2).[74]

[70] On human sacrifice in Greece see Henrichs 1981: 195–242; Hughes 1991, esp. 71–138 for sacrifice in literature. Specifically, on the ritual killing of young girls before battle, see Burkert 1983: 58–72, esp. 65. In one of Euripides' fragments from the *Erechtheus,* Praxithea, mother of Erechtheus' daughters, who will sacrifice herself for Athens, compares the sacrifice of her daughter to the death of young men in battle (E. *Erech*. fr. 360 *TrGF*).

[71] Euripides' examples can be paralleled in myth by others: Aglauros and the daughters of Kekrops, the daughters of Erechtheus, the daughters of Hyacinthos, the daughters of Leos: Wilkins 1990: 187. See above all Kearns 1990.

[72] De Romilly 1967: 108–32.

[73] *. . . κἄν ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων / καὶ νόστος ὑμῖν εὑρεθῇ ποτ' ἐκ θεῶν, / μέμνησθε τὴν σώτειραν ὡς θάψαι χρεών* (E. *Hkld.* 586–8).

[74] Wilkins 1993: xxi.

Another variation on the relationship between female self-sacrifice and *nostos* is provided by the immolation of Polyxena in *Hekabe*. The sacrifice of the maiden is meant to appease Achilles' soul and grant a safe return from Troy to the Greeks, as in Neoptolemos' prayer at the moment of her execution.[75] Like Iphigeneia, Polyxena embraces her imminent death with pride (367, 378, 550) after briefly lamenting it (197–210). Similarly, she says her life is coming to an end before her fulfilment as a woman.[76] As in the previous plays, the salient moments leading to her sacrifice ambiguously evoke traits of a marital ritual (368, 523, 611).[77] Both self-sacrifices should catalyse an event as precious as their missed female lives, the *nostos* of the Greeks.[78] Nevertheless, the heroines' personal perspectives are opposite: one is a Trojan, the other a Greek. While Polyxena offers her life because she wants to preserve her freedom and so protect her own noble status, Iphigeneia agrees to renounce her individuality to support the cause of her community, like Makaria.

The selfless act of giving one's own life in order to benefit the fatherland is staged again by Euripides in *Phoenician Women*.[79] In this play, Teiresias prophesies that Kreon will have to sacrifice his own child in order to repel the attack of Adrastos and the Argives against Thebes. In his words their defeat is foreseen as a bitter homecoming.[80] The king rejects Teiresias' advice, but his son Menoikeus decides instead to leap from a cliff of the city and fulfil the oracle. In this tragedy, the pairing of self-sacrifice and *nostos* shows peculiarities: this is a male self-sacrifice and the return is in fact a curse for a non-return. Nevertheless, Euripides does not depart much from his

[75] *ἀπ' Ἰλίου / νόστου τυχόντας πάντας ἐς πάτραν μολεῖν* (E. *Hek*. 540–4). Polyxena is sacrificed at Achilles' tomb as compensation for her missed marriage with him (E. *Hek*. 37 and 521, cf. E. *Tro*. 39 and *Ilioupersis* arg. 4, West 2003a: 147).

[76] *νύμφην τ' ἄνυμφον παρθένον τ' ἀπάρθενον* (E. *Hek*. 612, cf. 416).

[77] Gregory 1999: 120.

[78] The antithesis between the accomplishment of Trojan female life and Greek *nostos* appears later in the play again, when the chorus of Trojan women uses the adjective *nostimos* to refer to the return of the Greeks (E. *Hek*. 939). Here the Trojan women lament how they have been taken away from their marital life in Troy on a Greek ship, which is on its way home instead.

[79] Foley 1985: 106–46; Roselli 2007: 81–169; De Cremoux 2012: 299–314.

[80] *πικρὸν δ' Ἀδράστωι νόστον Ἀργείοισί τε / θήσει* (E. *Ph*. 949–50). Compare E. *Hyps*., fr. 757 *TrGF*, lines 914–8 (Amphiaraos speaks): the lines are very fragmentary, but perhaps say that just a few will achieve homecoming, and only Adrastos out of the Seven.

topos: first, in the prophecy Menoikeus is called a colt, *pōlos*,[81] which, in Greek imagery, is an animal associated with maidens who are on the verge of being tamed by the wedding yoke;[82] secondly, the enemies' bad homecoming represents the salvation of the city to which the sacrificial victim belongs. This is another self-sacrifice that exemplifies how social community must come before individual interests.[83]

Of the tragedies looked at so far, *Iphigeneia at Aulis* is the one that most fully explores this theme, by putting at the centre of the action the relationship between self-sacrifice and *nostos*. While in the previous tragedies the self-sacrifice was just an episode, in this tragedy it is the story itself. In *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, Euripides explores the necessity for the individual to put the political and social good first. Iphigeneia must die, as she explains, to free Greece (1384, 1386), to obey the gods' will (1395–6, cf. 87–93, 380–4, 746–8), and to prevail over the barbarians (1379, 1399–1401).[84] Her own acceptance (1397)[85] legitimizes Agamemnon's sense of necessity (443, 450, 511, 1192–1202).

However, the departure of the Greeks for Troy, along with their victory there, do not come without drawbacks. In opposition to the previously mentioned occurrences of the word *nostos* as 'journey to', Klytaimestra foresees for Agamemnon a *noston ponēron*, an 'evil return' (1187) because of his daughter's death. Her words do not only refer to how the communal cause will further the private vicissitudes of the house of Atreus, but also imply a contrast between the propitious *nostos*, for which the Greeks ask repeatedly, and the high cost that their victory at Troy will incur. Euripides inserts an element of tragic irony in Iphigeneia's speech, too: she claims that the life of a single man is worth those of thousands of women (1394) as an

[81] *οὗτος δὲ πῶλος τῆιδ' ἀνειμένος πόλει / θανὼν πατρώιαν γαῖαν ἐκσώσειεν ἄν* (E. *Ph.* 947–8).

[82] Mastronarde 1994: *ad loc*; on description of girls as colts, fillies, and deer in parthenaic contexts see Swift 2010: 187–8. E.g. Anakr. *PMG* 75.1; E. *Hek.* 142; *Hipp.* 546; *Andr.* 621.

[83] On the ambiguity of the outcome of this tragedy in relation to Menoikeus' self-sacrifice, that on the one hand means the salvation of the city, but on the other does not prevent the deaths of both Oidipous' children, see Foley 1985: 108 and De Cremoux: 309–11. On the relationship between Menoikeus' patriotic stand versus that of the other characters in the play see Foley 1985: 133–9.

[84] Michelakis 2006: 63–6.

[85] Compare the most likely spurious 1555, 1559–60.

argument to justify her death, when on the contrary her sacrifice will cause thousands of male deaths at Troy.[86]

From this perspective a similar irony could be detected at the beginning of the tragedy. There the chorus claim that if barbarian ships oppose the Greeks, they will not have their *nostos* (298), but this statement clashes with what we know from the myth: while there is no mention of a Trojan fleet, the episode of the burning of the Greek ships on the Trojan shore is prominent in the *Iliad*.[87] Thus, Iphigeneia's selfless act opens the way to the journey for Troy, but also becomes the premise for the difficult return from there. Despite this ambiguity, however, she still essentially remains a facilitator of a male movement that complies with the need of the community.

Iphigeneia's voluntary death shows an element of similarity with Achilles' choice of non-return. As he will choose to leave for Troy and die there, his non-return will become his *kleos,* his glory (*Il.* 9.413). An honorable death on the battlefield provides the heroes of the *Iliad* with glory,[88] just as the self-sacrifice does for Iphigeneia.[89] She moves from considering her death to be her destruction (*phoneuomai diollumai*, 1317) to the opposite conclusion: her sacrifice will be the source of everlasting memory instead (1398–9).[90] Choosing death, choosing not to go back home, seems to represent a voluntary separation from society, the opposite of *nostos.* If in *Iphigeneia in Tauris* personal identity depends on the bond between individual and society, *Iphigeneia at Aulis* seems to depart from this model.

However, the contradiction between the two tragedies is only apparent, because the renown to which Iphigeneia aspires is given only by the recognition of the nobility of her act by her own community. There is no renown and memory, if there is no community that grants it to the single individual. Individuality depends on the

[86] Parker 2016: 263.

[87] For a brief, but exhaustive history of the criticism regarding this *parados*: Turato 2001: 211. It is difficult to establish if this line was written by Euripides, or his son, or the reviser: Kovacs 2003: 83–4.

[88] Compare Sarpedon at *Il.* 12.328 and Hektor at 22.110, 304–5.

[89] Cf. E. *IA* 1375–6, 1383–4; her pursuit of *kleos* resembles a typical trait of the characterization of male heroes. On the heroism of Iphigeneia's choice see Conacher 1967: 250, 263–4; Walsh 1979: 294–309; Gamel 1999: 315–6.

[90] For a summary (with bibliography) of the story of the interpretation of Iphigeneia's decision with respect to the overall reading of the play, starting from Aristotle (*Poetics* 1454a32–3), see Siegel 1980: 300–4, cf. Foley 1985: 67 n. 4 and Sorum 1992: 539 n. 36.

community's opinion, it is not an objective reality. Euripides' Helen exemplifies this in the poet's version of her *nostos* tale. It does not matter if Helen has not actually left her husband, if everybody thinks she has; her reputation is equally compromised.[91]

By giving her body up (E. *IA* 1395), somehow Iphigeneia is effectively transformed into the woman she has in another sense failed to become. By obeying her father's will and society's expectations, she respects and preserves social order, which is the index of female identity in ancient Greece.[92] Her inability to achieve marriage represents the failure to make a proper transition from girlhood to womanhood, but her self-sacrifice nevertheless means acceptance of the role given to her by her community. She will never be the bride taken to the groom's house in the hymenaeal procession, but she will move away from her father's home to take her position in society: she will become a priestess and recipient of heroic cult at Brauron, according to Athena's final words in *Iphigeneia in Tauris* (E. *IT* 1462–7).[93] This idea seems to be at the basis of the epilogue of *Iphigeneia at Aulis* as it has reached us.[94] In these lines a second messenger narrates how Iphigeneia is turned into a deer at the very moment she is going to be killed by her father. Whether authentic or a later addition, her metamorphosis seems to be the implicit premise of what is fully explained in the closure of *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, a play chronologically prior to the other.

Any conclusion about an earlier presence of Iphigeneia at Brauron and, consequently, about her cultic role in the sanctuary there before Euripides can be only speculative.[95] This is due to lack of definitive

[91] See E. *Hel.* 926–35 (cf. 53–5, 250–2, 694–7 for references to Helen's undeserved bad reputation). Compare also E. *Hel.* 1495–1511, where the Dioskouroi will protect Helen's journey back to Sparta, but also will grant the restoration of Helen's reputation. They seem to have been chosen by Euripides because they represent Helen's connection with her family and her city, being her siblings and an important symbol of the city.

[92] Once married, maidens entered society and acquired social status, but by doing so they were also considered as entering the world of men and accepting their orders: Vernant 1980: 23–5 and 138–9; Redfield 1982: 192–4; Seaford 1987: 106.

[93] Iphigeneia is taken to Tauris by Artemis already in the *Kypria* (cf. Stesichoros fr. 178 Finglass with Davies and Finglass *ad loc.*), but evidence for a survival of Iphigeneia in other Attic tragedies beside those of Euripides is not certain: Parker 2016: xxvii.

[94] The concluding lines of *Iphigeneia at Aulis* are most likely spurious (e.g. Kovacs 2003); on the authenticity of the exodos (E. *IA* 1578–1629) see Cecchi 1960: 69–87. Any reading of the closure of the play should be considered speculative.

[95] Scullion 2000 argues that Euripides' cultic aetiologies are inventions either in relation to the *aition* or of the cult itself, as in the case of Iphigeneia at Brauron; strongly against a pre-Euripidean presence of the heroine in the sanctuary: Ekroth

archaeological evidence and literary sources prior to the fifth century.[96] However, the story of Iphigeneia, whose maturation into a woman was prevented by violent events, makes the heroine a perfect fit for the role of guarantor of the positive transition of maidens to womanhood,[97] the dangers of which were exorcised at the sanctuary through the ritual of the Arkteia. This ritual was celebrated at Brauron to transform Athenian girls into marriageable maidens.[98] Even though Euripides does not explicitly refer to the ritual of the Arkteia in *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, the assumption that the audience would have thought of it, in a context in which the sanctuary was explicitly mentioned, is quite legitimate.[99] Therefore, the aetiological closure of the tragedy recalls the sustained allusions to motifs and features, related to experiences and activities typical of young women's life, which have been stressed throughout the tragedy, within a perspective that emphasizes Iphigeneia's role as priestess and recipient of cult at Brauron. In Euripides' creative fiction, the role that she assumes at Brauron compensates for her lost transition into womanhood,

2003: 94–101, with full bibliography at p. 69 n. 49. Against: Seaford 2009: esp. 232–3; Biffis 2013: 255–9; and Parker 2016: xvi-xvii, who nevertheless stresses that the lack of indisputable archaeological evidence for a cult of Iphigeneia at Brauron before the Hellenistic age makes it impossible to reach any conclusive argument.

[96] For Iphigeneia at Brauron see R. Parker 2005: 238–9 and 240–1. For an heroon dedicated to her, cf. Euphorion *fr.* 86 Lightfoot. In favour of a possible connection between Euripides' lines and the list of dedications at the sanctuary of Brauron, although dated to the second half of the fourth century and without direct reference to Iphigeneia: Brelich 1968: 274; Lloyd-Jones 1983: 93–5; Cole 2004: 219 and 223; against: Ekroth 2003: 71 and 96–7.

[97] Heroines who had suffered a traumatic life experience, but overcame it thanks to divine intervention, were thought to be able to protect worshippers from the same misfortune they had undergone themselves before heroization and to guard against failure at the most important stages of female life: e.g. Larson 1995: 116–21.

[98] On the existence of rites of passage in Attica see R. Parker 2005: 210. On the interpretation of the Arkteia as a ritual of passage: Cole 1984: 241–4; Sourvinou-Inwood 1988: 28–30; Kearns 1989: 133–4; 27–33, 174; more recently Goff 2004: 106–13; Parker 2005: 228–49; against the existence of initiation in Greek rituals and Arkteia as a ritual of propitiation, rather than initiation: Faraone 2003: 43–68.

[99] In favour of an implied connection of the play with the ritual of the Arkteia: Cropp 2000: 55–6, Tzanetou 2000: 201–3, Swift 2010: 201; against: Ekroth 2003: 64–7, Wright 2005: 355, and Kyriakou 2006: 28. It is evident that there is a resemblance between Iphigeneia's story in the *Iphigeneia in Tauris* and the *aition* of the Arkteia: a divinity who needs be appeased through the sacrifice of a young girl, but eventually transforms this sacrifice into an animal offering. Nevertheless, it is difficult to establish the chronological relationship between Euripides and the different formulations of the *aition*: see e.g. Brelich 1969: 248 n. 44 with discussion at 249–51; Brulé 1987: 182–6 and 200–3; Parker 2005: 238–9.

guaranteeing her a function that is as beneficial to her community as if she had been able to create a family and thus fulfil the expectations of society. From this angle Euripides' Iphigeneia would perfectly reflect a Greek religious pattern, which transforms girls able to sacrifice themselves for their community, such as Makaria or the daughters of Erechtheus, into guardians of the city.[100]

If *nostos* means reintegration into one's original society and confirmation of one's identity, both Orestes and Iphigeneia are successful. The way in which Euripides constructs their stories in *Iphigeneia in Tauris* conforms to an anthropological pattern concerning rituals meant to propitiate the transition from childhood to adulthood.[101] The customary pattern of maturation for young men and girls encompasses a period away from home, an experience of wildness and/or mock-death, followed by restoration to normality with reintegration into civilized society.[102] Orestes' madness and need for purification is parallel to Iphigeneia's distorted priesthood in Tauris. Their shared escape and successful homecoming would signify the overcoming of the dangers inherent to liminal status. This would be particularly evident for Iphigeneia: as Swift explains, 'Iphigeneia's identification with a wild animal and her separation from civilization is suggestive of how female development is seen as a state of wildness before an eventual return to the community. Iphigeneia, as a *parthenos* whose development to maturity has been interrupted, is kept in a state of wildness and isolation. Moreover, like other failed *parthenoi* such as the Sirens, she becomes a source of danger to men, killing them as a form of worship to Artemis, the goddess of virginity.'[103] Orestes is similar: there are clear references to his isolation and miserable condition before the rescue of his sister (500, 514, 568, 694, 933), as the aetiology of the Choes exemplified (947–60). The reading of the aetiological closure here supported strengthens the association of certain themes of the play with such transitional rites.[104]

[100] Wilkins 1990: 187; Kearns 1990.

[101] Cropp 2000: 55–6; Tzanetou 2000: 199–216. Against: Wright 2005: 355 and Kyriakou 2006: 26–30. For the conjecture of a connection between the cult of the Tauropolos and a male transitional rite see Lloyd-Jones 1983: 96–7, cf. L. Parker 2016: xviii.

[102] Van Gennep 1909 (1960).

[103] Swift 2010: 198.

[104] Compare the mention of the myth of Io in relation to Orestes' difficult passage through the Bosporos (E. *IT* 392–8), which could be a parallel of Iphigeneia's failure to achieve transition: Swift 2010: 206. Also, the reference to Phineus and the dark

The three steps that characterize transitional rites (separation, liminality, and incorporation) can easily be accommodated within the typical narrative units of a *nostos* tale: departure to accomplish a mission, overcoming of dangerous experiences, successful return.[105] Thus in *Iphigeneia in Tauris* the *nostos* motifs interact with transitional themes. Once the two heroes return to Greece, they will resemble liminal figures: they will have undertaken a positive change, which will grant them a reintegration in Greek society. However, their geographical movement from the Tauric Chersonese to Attica, rather than to the Peloponnese, aligns them with the heroes who are protagonists of failed *nostoi*. Scholars have noticed the difference between the Homeric account of the Trojan returns and the other traditions of *nostoi* that take heroes far from their original home.[106] They recognize in the opposition between the two the difference between the aristocratic and mercantile exploration of the seas and the diasporic experience of colonization.[107] In *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, Euripides mixes these two perspectives at the beginning of the first stasimon, when the chorus mistake Orestes and Pylades for merchants. But ultimately the poet looks more at how the legends of 'non-return' abounded with prophecies and hero cults which promoted a reorganization of the cultural image of cities in Greece and in the Mediterranean.[108]

With respect to the latter, Euripides borrows from the way *nostoi* were used as a means of articulating cultural and ethnic encounters,[109] with the heroes functioning as mediators between Greeks and non-Greek peoples.[110] Orestes must carry the cult image of Artemis to Halai in Attica.[111] There he must build a temple and institute a

Symplegades (423–4) could remind the audience of Jason's experience, an experience that can also be read in terms of rituals of transition.

[105] Crotty 1982: 112–28.

[106] Consider the opposition between the returns of Nestor, Diomedes, and Philoktetes in Homer (respectively, *Od.* 3.191, 3.181, 3.190) versus their non-returns (e.g. Malkin 1998: chs 7 and 8).

[107] See Purcell, this volume, pp. 277–9.

[108] Malkin 1998: 54, 168. Danek 2015: 355–79, esp. 378.

[109] See Lane Fox, this volume, p. 212.

[110] Malkin 1998: esp. 27, 133, 137, 140, 142, 145, 154, 207, 233.

[111] The idea that also the statue should be taken back to Greece is a further factor that emphasizes the theme of return in the play, even though the word *nostos* is never used about the image, if not indirectly when it appears as an obstacle to the protagonists' return (*πῶς οὖν γένοιτ' ἂν ὥστε μήθ' ἡμᾶς θανεῖν / λαβεῖν θ' ἃ βουλόμεσθα; τῇδε γὰρ νοσεῖ / νόστος πρὸς οἴκους*, E. *IT* 1017–19).

ritual during which blood drawn from the neck of a man should stain the altar of the goddess. Euripides' aetiology recalls the many foundations of temples dedicated to Athena Ilias in the West. In short, Orestes must bring to Greece barbarian features: a goddess that is no longer simply Artemis but has become Artemis Tauropolos, and memory of the human sacrifices practised in Tauris. Kowalzig explains that the new cult becomes a means of 'transcultural integration' between Attica and the Black Sea:[112] Euripides creates a cultural middle ground from which the Athenian trading interests of the late fifth century could profit.[113]

The tragedian does not seem to use the framework of the *nostoi* only for its effectiveness with respect to cross-cultural encounter, but also because this sort of mythological discourse is a fundamental tool for fostering not only the prestige, but also the welfare of Greek *poleis* and their civic ideology.[114] *Iphigeneia in Tauris* establishes Orestes and Iphigeneia as Athenian ritual heroes so that, as Kowalzig shows, Euripides contributes to the transfer of non-native heroes to Athenian territory in order to build Athens' imperial ideology by strengthening her Panhellenic profile.[115] In Athenian tragedy, Oidipous, Aias, and the Herakleidai all concur in promoting Athens' role as protector of the Hellenic world; but Orestes and Iphigeneia, in particular, fulfil the city's need to establish a direct link to the Trojan War as the archetype of the defence of Greekness against the foreigner.

The semantic field of the word *nostos*, and the multidirectionality it evokes, integrate the individual in his/her community, both within the *oikos* and outside it.[116] Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris* is a set piece for the tragedian to explore the idea of return in multiple ways. The capacity of the tragic genre for mixing dramatic dialogue and lyric passages allows personal/self-referential narratives of return to be integrated with those of other characters. Thus Iphigeneia's return depends on Orestes' story, whose status at home is restored thanks to the enterprise by which he took his sister and the statue of Artemis back to Greece. The private dimension of the *oikos* (as Atreus's house is finally healed) blends with that of the *polis* through a return that

[112] Kowalzig 2013: 180.

[113] From this perspective, the chorus' mistake of taking Orestes and Pylades for merchants in the first stasimon assumes even more importance: Kowalzig 2013: 185.

[114] Malkin 1998: 34; see Fowler, this volume, p. 57.

[115] Kowalzig 2006: 97.

[116] See Malkin, this volume, p. 83.

initiates a cult practice beneficial to the community and to the personal fulfilment of those who perform it. The aetiological twist of the protagonists' *nostos* makes the latter similar to some of the heroic *nostoi*, specifically those which are directed towards an unfamiliar world, as opposed to the successful homecoming of Odysseus. Besides, the gender difference between Iphigeneia and Orestes doubles the perspectives on homecoming. The multiple ways by which these stories construct the identities of the characters who live and narrate them reflect the multirelational dimension in which the Greek sense of identity is ultimately grounded.

8

Emotional Returns

N. J. Lowe

Richard McGuire's celebrated graphic novel *Here* (2014) consists entirely of 150 double-page spreads of the same scene, a corner of the living room of McGuire's childhood home in New Jersey, from the same fixed angle but at different times—ranging from three and a half billion years ago to the far future of Earth, and pierced with inset panels showing windowed and dated partial views into other times within the main frame. In its print form, the book itself becomes a four-dimensional model of the space, with the corner between walls of the room represented by the gutter between facing pages;[1] and as fragmentary glimpses of recurrent characters and storylines thread through this space in time, its radically nonlinear narrative device serves as the vehicle for a deeply affecting history of the house, the generations of the families who have lived and died in it, and the wider history of America and of humanity's tenure on Earth, of which it serves synecdochically as a microcosm.

Here is an exciting text for narratologists in a number of ways. Some of these are classically formal, arising from its invention of a new and medium-specific way to fold a narrative and its medium around time and space, with the latter minimalistically constrained while the former is radically opened up in ways that construct the text itself as a physical space within which narrative lines are threaded, with a syntax partly built from comics, film, and flipbook animation,

[1] *Here* also exists as an e-book, manipulation of which allows further narrativities to emerge (such as the flipbook-like animation effects that appear when digital pages are turned in rapid succession).

but also in part uniquely devised for the purpose. Others have to do with the book's challenge to theoretical models and definitions of narrative itself, as a story which refuses some of the constituent fundamentals of narrative (including characters and plot in any conventional sense of either), and where the driver of engagement is the casting of the reader as a witness to, and constructor of, narrative meanings bounded by space but not by time. But perhaps most interesting is the way in which a narrative which refuses such familiar narrative comforts as characters and plot, constructed out of inanimate space and colossally disproportionate immensities of time, attains the power to move, as a return in memory to the place of the author's childhood becomes a meditation on place as something which transcends individual experience and endures beyond narrative, while at the same time being at the centre of the emotions that narrative feeds.

The affective motor of McGuire's narrative is what has come to be called 'place attachment', broadly defined as the emotional bond between people and places (the latter here in its social-psychological sense of 'meaningful locations'), and first showcased in the landmark 1992 collection by Altman and Low.[2] The extended application of Bowlby's model of attachment to places as well as persons has been useful in bringing together a number of previously disconnected perspectives in social psychology, particularly in the field of urban studies, but also, and with increasing relevance both to the times and to the themes of this volume, to the experience and management of refugees and other displaced or migrant persons and groups at the sharp end of globalization, conflict, natural disaster, and climate change. Though there is much work still to be done, not least on the specific psychological mechanisms by which emotional bonds with places are formed,[3] it is becoming clear that the emotional

[2] Much of the conversation since has taken place in the pages of the *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, where a useful entrance point is the meta-analysis of literature reviews by Lewicka 2011.

[3] Note the suggestive hypotheses put forward by Lewicka 2014: 54: 'People may seek to establish personal connections with new places through various forms of memory: procedural, autobiographic, genealogical, and place memory. In contrast to procedural memory, or place-related autobiographical reminiscences, which contribute to attachment through time spent in the place, the association between attachment and the other forms of memory (genealogical and place history) should be less heavily dependent on residence duration.'

component of place attachment, particularly where it operates with narratives across time, is no mere sentimental indulgence but a powerfully constructive force in the negotiation of issues of individual and group identity, particularly in conditions of traumatic displacement from places constituted as 'home'.

Though the implications of this work have yet to trickle as far into the humanities as they might, one narrative theorist who has paid attention to this emerging body of research is the literary cognitivist and postcolonial narratologist Patrick Colm Hogan[4], who has long argued for an emotionally oriented reframing of narrative theory as part of his larger project to find ways of talking usefully about narrative universals, particularly comparative narratology and transcultural narrative patterns, in a way that can move beyond discredited ritualist and Jungian monomyth models to build instead on a twenty-first-century synthesis of empirically grounded anthropological, psychological, and comparative-literary approaches. Hogan's own map of universal narrative 'genres' argues for eight prototypical story patterns each framed around emotions which seem to meet the test of universality. In a recent summary:

> The most important prototypes are derived from emotion systems and define cross-cultural genres. Some of these genres show a high degree of autonomy (i.e., likelihood of defining the main or only plot in a narrative) and appear prominently in highly esteemed narratives of verbal art across cultures and periods. Others show less autonomy and, although they occur across cultures, tend to be found in a more limited range of historical periods; they may also be more likely to appear in ephemeral works. The former are the major genres—romantic, heroic, and sacrificial tragicomedy. These bear on romantic love, individual and group pride, and hunger or physical well-being. The heroic plot often includes an epilogue (the epilogue of suffering), which in effect constitutes a further genre, related to guilt or remorse. Its inconsistent presence in heroic plots makes it in some ways intermediate between the major and minor groups. The second, less autonomous group comprises the minor genres—seduction, revenge, criminal investigation, and familial separation . . . These genres bear on sexual desire, anger at attachment violation, guilt attribution, and attachment respectively.[5]

It is not necessary to accept these particular models and categories (for which Hogan nevertheless argues very carefully from a wide

[4] Hogan 2011b, and cf. 2011a: 30–32; 2003; 2013.

[5] Hogan 2013: 44–5.

cross-cultural base) to recognize the fundamental rightness of his insight that the very fact that humans build and value emotional relationships with places is important for understanding how narrative works (Hogan 2003: 229):

> Space, too, is lived space. Not mere objective location, but that location as it relates to one's experience of life—aspiration, feeling, action, memory, and so on. The most crucial spatial division is between what is "home" and what is not—with "home" understood contextually to refer to a particular house, town, region, country, or whatever. The spatial structure of narratives is, then, most significantly a structure of home and away. "Home" in romantic plots is a permanent place with the beloved. "Home" in heroic plots is the nation. "Home" in sacrificial plots is a paradise of natural comfort and plenty. It is this personalized spatial structure that makes exile (that is, expulsion and exclusion from home) a central element in all three sorts of narrative. Put differently, in stories, time and space are, first of all, emotional time and space.

That space in narrative is *emotional* space, and the idea of home a key emotional anchor which seems to operate not only across cultures but across narrative genres and prototypes goes a long way to explaining why narratives of exile and homecoming seem to be not only a genuine worldwide story pattern but perhaps even *the* master pattern. Return and narratives of return are emotionally bound up with processes of memory and identity formation on both the individual and the collective level—making the ancient world's exploration of the affective poetics of *nostos* narratives a historically determinative experiment in the translation of cultural memory and desire into replicable narrative forms. And in what follows, I want to suggest a narrative of my own: the story of the translation of the emotional universals of place attachment into a distinctively Greek and genred narrative form and corpus, and the reasons for the unusual centrality and force of *nostos* narrative in Greek tradition.

A history of place attachment in the Greek imaginary would have to begin from the *Odyssey*, whose richly paradigmatic and mutually interreflective corpus of return-narrative templates (Odysseus, Agamemnon, Menelaos, Orestes, Telemachos) is emotionally activated by a series of powerful moments articulating different aspects of the hero's attachment to Ithaka as a personal space of identity formation and longing to return which is also expressed through physical geography and landscape, signifiers of social geography and local economics, and personal histories written on both. Consider

Odysseus' initial description of his homeland to Alkinoos (9.21–36) (tr. Shewring 1980: 99; spellings adjusted):

> The place I live in is far-seen Ithaka; on it stands out Mount Neriton, quivering with leafy coppices; round it are clustered other islands—Doulichion, Same, forested Zakynthos. Ithaka itself is low-lying, farthest out in the sea westwards, and the other islands lie away from it, towards the rising sun. My land is rugged, but knows how to breed brave sons. A man can see no country more lovable than his own, and so it is with myself and Ithaka. There was a time when divine Kalypso kept me within her arching caverns and would have had me to be her husband, and another time when subtle Aiaian Kirke confined me in her palace and would have had me for husband also. Yet neither of them could win the heart within me; so true it is that nothing is sweeter to a man than his own country and his own parents, even though he were given a sumptuous dwelling-place elsewhere, in a strange land and far from his parents.[6]

The keyword in these lines is 'sweet' (28, 34—both times in a comparative form, to make a rhetorical point about the unwinnable competition between place attachment and rival emotionological systems). Physical features—the central ridge, the surrounding islands, the rugged landscape—carry an emotional force for Odysseus which will be vicariously felt by his Phaiakian listeners and the poem's audience, not because the backwater archipelago kingdom is particularly scenic, but because Odysseus expects it to be recognized

[6] *ναιετάω δ' Ἰθάκην ἐυδείελον· ἐν δ' ὄρος αὐτῇ*
Νήριτον εἰνοσίφυλλον, ἀριπρεπές· ἀμφὶ δὲ νῆσοι
πολλαὶ ναιετάουσι μάλα σχεδὸν ἀλλήλῃσι,
Δουλίχιόν τε Σάμη τε καὶ ὑλήεσσα Ζάκυνθος.
αὐτὴ δὲ χθαμαλὴ πανυπερτάτη εἰν ἁλὶ κεῖται
πρὸς ζόφον, αἱ δέ τ' ἄνευθε πρὸς ἠῶ τ' ἠέλιόν τε,
τρηχεῖ', ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος· οὔ τοι ἐγώ γε
ἧς γαίης δύναμαι γλυκερώτερον ἄλλο ἰδέσθαι.
ἥ μέν μ' αὐτόθ' ἔρυκε Καλυψώ, δῖα θεάων,
ἐν σπέσσι γλαφυροῖσι, λιλαιομένη πόσιν εἶναι·
ὡς δ' αὖτως Κίρκη κατερήτυεν ἐν μεγάροισιν
Αἰαίη δολόεσσα, λιλαιομένη πόσιν εἶναι·
ἀλλ' ἐμὸν οὔ ποτε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔπειθον.
ὡς οὐδὲν γλύκιον ἧς πατρίδος οὐδὲ τοκήων
γίγνεται, εἴ περ καί τις ἀπόπροθι πίονα οἶκον
γαίῃ ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ ναίει ἀπάνευθε τοκήων.

that the sweetest thing to a member of the human species is one's *patris* ('fatherland') and parents, the affective bond with landscape which we construct as a projection and extension of the attachment bond that we formed with our parents. This, Odysseus already implies, is why we call it *patris*; this is what he was unable to help Kirke to see over a year, and Kalypso over seven; and this is why home is preferable to a far more luxuriant (*piona*, 35) landscape which, however, is physically and familially distant. The key word 'parents' which closes both the climactic summation in 36 and the triplet of distance terms *apoprothi . . . allodapē . . . apaneuthe* in 35–6 summarizes an affective relationship with place already articulated in the metaphor *kourotrophos*, 'nurturer of young men' (27): Ithaka's unforgiving physical geography is in multiple senses an effective nurse for males in the process of adult identity formation.

These feelings are then powerfully expressed on Odysseus' actual return to *patris* and parents respectively. When Athena whisks away the mist at 13.352 to reveal that the land Odysseus has awoken on is none other than Ithaca, Odysseus not only feels immediate joy (*gēthēsen t'ar' epeita*, 352; *chairōn*, 353) but kisses the earth and babbles out a prayer to the local nymphs (356–60), who will go on to serve the later poetic tradition as a powerful device for projecting sentient properties onto landscape. And a strong candidate for the single most powerful emotional moment in Homer is the one that reduces both Odysseus and Laertes to tears as the hero proves his identity to his own surviving parent by excavating the deep memory of how the two of them long ago cemented their father-son bond by inscribing their relationship on the man-made landscape of the family orchard. In contrast to the other passages discussed here, the lines in question (24.336–44) are entirely bare of emotion terms; there is only a delicate, and perhaps timelessly masculine, switch from stark denumerative taxonomy to a gruffly focalized comment on the productivity of the fifty vines from season to season to season (*hōrai*, 344—the line which reduces both speaker and listener to blubbering jellies).

Already in epic, then, there is a deep interest in the ways in which both individuals and their collective audiences use mappings between familial forms of attachment and the landscapes in which those attachments are formed to construct kinds of emotional bond which are powerfully resistant to external forces and distractions. Even more significantly, however, the *Odyssey* is already harnessing the epic poetics of pattern and variation to situate this experience

against the background of a corpus of similar stories with a variety of significantly parallel or cautionary outcomes. Some of Odysseus' narrative alternates within the poem return home safely and quickly, such as Nestor and (in this stage of the tradition) Diomedes, Idomeneus, Neoptolemos, and Philoktetes; others, including not only Odysseus himself but also Menelaos, come home late; others, such as Lokrian Aias, fail to survive the journey it at all; and others (paradigmatically Agamemnon) meet a sticky end, requiring the next generation to restore a kind of equilibrium through a further heroic *nostos*, not from war now but from exile or mission abroad. This impetus is carried further in the *Nostoi*, so easily seen as a plodding and derivative gap-filler built entirely around what is in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (with the strange and somewhat anomalous Kalchas story its lone innovation), but whose transformative idea is to tell these stories in an interwoven narrative, thematizing the variety of plot patterns and outcomes to create a distinctively oral-formulaic kind of unity in variety.

Nevertheless, the greatest expansion in the mythographic canon of returns still lay ahead. Merely in the returns from Troy, to limit ourselves to those for present purposes (though as we shall see the focus on the Trojan epics excludes some important epic patterns to which we shall return), it is clear that between the two great poems of return, the *Odyssey* and Lykophron's *Alexandra*, not only is there a gigantic expansion in the canon of *nostos* storylines, but such figures as Diomedes, Idomeneus, Philoktetes, and Neoptolemos who get home safely without incident in epic have become part of Kassandra's increasingly diasporic encyclopedia of collective trauma.

THE CANON OF EPIC *NOSTOI*

Odyssey	***Nostoi***	**Lykophron**	**Apollodoros**
Agamemnon	Agamemnon	Akamas	Agapenor
Diomedes	Kalchas, Leontes, Polypoites	Agapenor	Amphilochos, Kalchas, Leonteus, Podaleirios, & Polypoites
Idomeneus	Diomedes	Boiotians	
Menelaos	Menelaos	Kalchas	
Neoptolemos	Neoptolemos	Kepheus	
Nestor	Nestor	Diomedes	Antiphos
Odysseus		Elephenor	Demophon
Philoktetes		Epeios	Elephenor
		Gouneus, Prothoos, Eurypylos	Gouneus
			Lokrians

(*continued*)

Continued

Odyssey	*Nostoi*	Lykophron	Apollodoros
		Idomeneus	Meges and Prothoos
		Menelaos	Menestheus
		Mopsos and Amphilochos	Pheidippos
		Nireus and Thoas	Philoktetes
		Odysseus	Podaleirios
		Philoktetes	Protesilaos' men
		Phoinix	Tlepolemos' men
		Phokians	captors of Laomedontids etc.
		Podaleirios	
		Praxandros	
		Sthenelos	
		Teukros	
		settlers in Bruttium	
		settlers in gulf of Taras	
		settlers in Lucania	
		settlers in Malta	
		settlers in Sicily	

Where have all these new *nostos* plots come from, and why is the master plot now this narrative of failure? Clearly this is a question that could be answered in a number of ways, many of them to do with the ways in which regional foundation legends have been assimilated into a grand narrative of diaspora pegged on to the returns from Troy. Lyric has plainly been important here, as has the first flowering of mythographic prose (especially Pherekydes);[7] but it is tragedy that is obsessed, and tragedy from which many of the major *nostos* plots that first appear in Lykophron clearly derive.

Nostos tragedies have traditionally been seen as an important but a relatively narrow subset of the corpus, the standard Taplin–Alexopoulou core canon from among the extant plays supplemented by a round-up of key fragmentary plays and transformations of the epic *nostos* pattern among both. But this is to neglect the principle that almost all tragedies are *nostos* tragedies of one kind or another, and that the emotions and processes associated with place are a fundamental shaper of tragedy's plot patterns and affective palette.

Before considering these patterns in more detail, it may be instructive first to look briefly at the perhaps slightly unexpected topic of *nostos* comedies, since New Comedy is the genre which systematically exports

[7] See especially Fowler 2013: 545–68, and in this volume, pp. 54, 57.

a repertoire of mythic story patterns projected from the heroic situational repertoire onto characters and situations from the audience's own world, lives, and emotional affordances. Four main patterns can be distinguished, though they often overlap or combine in a single play. In one, the scene of the action is a present-day version of Ithaka in Odysseus' absence or Argos in Agamemnon's, where a paterfamilias returns from a trip abroad to find that the mice have been at play while the cat was away: so, variously, in *Samia*, *Heros*, *Amphitruo*, *Mostellaria*, *Trinummus*, *Phormio*.[8] In a large second group, Telemachean rather than Odyssean, it is the young master who comes home, with a variety of sub-patterns seen in *Aspis*, *Bacchides*, *Captivi*, *Casina*, *Epidicus*, *Mercator*, *Stichus*, *Hecyra*, and *Heautontimorumenos*. A third category comprises recognition plays where a lost child returns, or is returned, to their paternal home and family: so in *Epitrepontes*, *Perikeiromene, Misoumenos, Sikyonios, Heros, Epidicus, Eunuchus*, as well as in further plot strands of *Captivi* and *Phormio*. Finally, there are plays where the *nostos* involves an escape from the stage location, which represents a space of exile, to an offstage destination of home: *Menaechmi*, *Miles Gloriosus*, *Rudens*. Much could be said about the ways in which these patterns, like so much else in New Comedy, are simultaneously a reflection of the psychogeographic realities of bourgeois family life in the Hellenistic *oikoumene* and at the same time a complete fantasy projected by the interaction of post-democratic civic ideology via a densely semiotized repertory of situational tropes. For present purposes, however, the key point to stress is that all four of these patterns derive ultimately from tragedy, where the tentacles of the *nostos* pattern are if anything even more numerous and extensive.

The standard canon of *nostos* tragedies clusters around those plays which directly or indirectly rework one or more of the three principal *nostos* stories in the *Odyssey* (the returns of Odysseus, Agamemnon, and Orestes), to which we can add famous fragmentary plays in the same mould such as Aeschylus' *Penelope* (direct) and Euripides' *Kresphontes* (indirect, but a close palimpsest of the Orestes pattern). Extant plays falling into this group would include *Persians, Agamemnon, Choephoroi, Trachiniai, Herakles,* and the Sophoclean and Euripidean *Elektras*; and though Euripides' *Orestes* is not a *nostos* tragedy in this core sense, it directly combines two of the *Odyssey*'s

[8] Taplin 1977: 124 n. 5 would add *Dyskolos* to this group—the comedic twist there being that the father's absence is part of a daily routine and is here terminated prematurely only a couple of hours after his departure.

paradigmatic returns, bolting the aftermath of Orestes' return to the *nostos* of Menelaos that follows immediately after it in the internal chronology of the *Odyssey*. Taplin's original inventory would add here those plays where the return of the king mid-play, as in *Agamemnon*, is similarly used as a structural fulcrum: thus *Hippolytos* is easily recognized as another variation on the eminently Odyssean pattern of the king arriving home from abroad to find sexual disorder in his house and family.[9]

But alongside these there are also plays which draw on a very different pattern of epic return, Theban rather than Trojan, in which the exile returns at the head of an army and plunges his homeland into civil war: so in *Seven against Thebes, Antigone, Phoenician Women*. There are also refugee plays such as Aeschylus' *Suppliants* and Euripides' *Herakleidai* where the cycle of exile and return is played out not by heroic figures but by dependent womenfolk and children. In the case of Euripides' *Suppliants* this plot type modulates unsettlingly into the previous one, as Athena tells us the sons of the Seven who perform in the climactic *kommos* will grow up to return under arms as the Epigonoi and sack Thebes where their fathers failed. In such plays the location of the action is not the destination but the space of exile, so that it is the exit at the end which promises a *nostos* to an offstage homeland; and that in turn brings in the large category of escape plays, which end in the departure of the hero himself from the setting in a place of exile to an offstage *nostos* involving a return to his homeland. This group includes not only the canonical Euripidean escape-tragedies *Iphigeneia in Tauris* and *Helen*, but a range of other plays (*Eumenides, Ion, Philoktetes, Kyklops*) where the hero has to be released from the stage location onto a journey which we know will ultimately if not always directly take him home. However, there are also tragedies such as *Hekabe* and *Troades* which take place against the backdrop of the epic *nostoi*, but from the perspective of their Trojan victims for whom the *nostos* is anything but; rather, it is an irreversible voyage into slavery and away from a home that no longer exists. These plays are particularly important for the Lykophronian master narrative of catastrophe and diaspora.

So, too, with the tragedies about the characters who never live to make the journey home. In *Aias*, Teukros is to get home, but without

[9] Taplin (as above) also notes the arrivals of local tyrants in mid-play in *IT* and *Helen*, and (more remotely) the analogous entries of figures of authority in *Aias* and *Kyklops*.

his brother; the Muse in *Rhesos* laments her son's death at Troy. Similarly there are plays where the hero is killed not before but on his homeward journey, with the *Odyssey*'s destruction of Lokrian Aias the epic prototype. It is for this reason that both Taplin and Alexopoulou count *Andromache* among *nostos* plays, notwithstanding the absent hero's death before he ever arrives in the play to perform the long-expected tragic rescue. Here tragedy is a direct participant witness to the reconfiguration of a successful epic return to a Lykophronian tragic catastrophe.[10] A close relative is plays in which a living character's desire to return is blocked: the whole point of the *Medea*, as she is fond of reminding the chorus, is that she cannot go home and needs to find somewhere else to exit to at the end of her own escape-tragedy instead. It is also possible for the hero to be invited to return home and refuse, ending the play and his life where he is rather than back in his homeland: this is the choice of Oidipous in the *Oidipous at Kolonos*. There are plays about figures who return to their parental home *polis* (Thebes in both the extant instances) in disguises which encounter rather more resistance to unmasking than Odysseus' does, in the case of *Oidipous Tyrannos* fooling even its own wearer. *Bacchai* can be understood as an unsettlingly divinized version of the Orestes return-and-revenge plot in which the exiled familial avenger returns in disguise to his birthplace on a lethal mission of retribution. Finally, *Alkestis* finds a way to stage and thematize the most drastic *nostos* of all, from the place of no return.

It may seem from the above as if the concept of *nostos* is being elasticated to cover all possible plot patterns, but this is not the case. There is still a significant gap between the thirty-one extant plays mentioned so far and the two remaining tragedies *Prometheus* and *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, neither of which can be accommodated to a *nostos* model without a much greater stretch than in any of the cases above. (But on the latter play, see Biffis, this volume, pp. 165 and 168). It should also be noted that, while place attachment to the home offers an emotional anchor of sorts in *Acharnians* and *Peace*, actual narratives of return only figure in Aristophanic comedy where a fantastic space of heavenly or infernal displacement is involved, and even plays

[10] The development of the stories of Neoptolemos' return and death in lyric and in lost tragedy is enormously complex and hard to trace in detail, but by the 420s his death at Delphi, with or without Orestes' involvement, appears to have become established; see Gantz 1993: 687–94 for an overview of the evidence.

such as *Clouds* and *Lysistrata* which turn on the nostalgic restoration of a disrupted order do not engage the emotional desire for home as part of their appeal. The master plots of Old Comedy, so far as we can judge, tend much more to associate their individual and utopian desires with irreversible change and permanent displacement.

Why, then, is tragedy so distinctively obsessed with narratives of return? I want to suggest that the narratological implications of place attachment offer one way to an answer, and in particular that the combination of a formal poetics of embodied and spectated space with the emotional salience of displacement and reconnection becomes the affective armature for a system of narrative possibilities which are peculiarly effective at doing the things that tragedy likes to do with epic myth. Like *Here*, tragedy presents its audience with a visual world immovably constrained in space—though other spaces and epochs may be verbally windowed within it—and characters who move in and out of that frame in a way that de facto thematizes exits and entrances, departure and return. Not surprisingly, then, tragedy is intensely interested in how we form and break *emotional* bonds with places on a personal level. Three short examples will give a glimpse of the repertoire of affective devices.

> I came in tears,
> seeing at last the halls and the gods' altars,
> the schools that reared me, and the spring of Dirke,
> from all of which unjustly banished now
> I live in a foreign town, eyes blurred with tears.[11]
>
> Euripides, *Phoenician Women* 366–70
> (tr. E. Wyckoff in Grene
> and Lattimore 1980b: 113)

When Euripides' Polyneikes enters Thebes under truce for the secret meeting Jocasta has brokered with his brother, he talks about how both being there and being in a foreign *polis* have him in floods of tears (*poludakros* of his return, *dakruroos* of his exile). In particular, he weeps at the visual stimulus of four landmarks to which he feels

[11] *πολύδακρυς δ' ἀφικόμην,* 366
χρόνιος ἰδὼν μέλαθρα καὶ βωμοὺς θεῶν
γυμνάσιά θ' οἷσιν ἐνετράφην Δίρκης θ' ὕδωρ·
ὧν οὐ δικαίως ἀπελαθεὶς ξένην πόλιν
ναίω, †δι' ὅσσων ὄμμ'† ἔχων δακρύρροον. 370

four different kinds of emotionally invested attachment: the palace (*melathra)* where he lived; the altars of the gods (*bōmous theōn*, 367) where religious activity and feeling has a locus in the tangible environment; the *gymnasia* (368) where he was nurtured to manhood (*enetraphen*, the same root and metaphor as in Ithaka's nursing of young adult males at *Od.* 9.27); and the Dirkaian spring (368) as an acknowledged local landmark. Though absence makes him weep, he also weeps when he views them again after long absence (*chronios idōn*, 367): distance in time intensifies the affective dissonance of displacement and repatriation. A great deal of emotionology is distilled in these lines, and in the scene that unfolds from it.

Dioskouroi	She has a husband, she has a home, she needs no pity, she suffers nothing but exile from Argos.
Elektra	Are there more poignant sorrows or greater than leaving the soil of a fatherland?
Orestes	But I go too; I am forced from my father's home; I must suffer foreigners' judgment for the blood of my mother.[12]

Euripides, *Elektra* 1311–18 (tr. E. Vermeule in Grene and Lattimore 1980a: 248, with spelling adjusted)

In these lines shortly before the end of Euripides' *Elektra*, the siblings who have just been reunited are parted and dispatched to different sites of exile. With the heroic lack of human emotional intelligence that only Euripidean machine-gods can display, the Dioskouroi insist that Elektra is owed no pity now because she has a real husband (*posis*) and a home (*domos*), after spending the entire play complaining that her present version of both was nothing of the kind, so that having to uproot her life to Phokis should be regarded as a step upwards. Elektra has to point out that the gods have spectacularly missed the point,

[12] ***Διόσκουροι*** *πόσις ἔστ' αὐτῇ καὶ δόμος· οὐχ ἥδ' οἰκτρὰ πέπονθεν, πλὴν ὅτι λείπει πόλιν Ἀργείων.* 1311

Ἠλέκτρα *καὶ τίνες ἄλλαι στοναχαὶ μείζους ἢ γῆς πατρίας ὅρον ἐκλείπειν;* 1315

Ὀρέστης *ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οἴκων ἔξειμι πατρὸς καὶ ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίαις ψήφοισι φόνον μητρὸς ὑφέξω.*

which is that what hurts is having to leave the *place* behind; there are, she says, no other agonies (*stonachai*) worse than leaving the territory of one's fatherland (*gēs patriās*, a close echo of Odysseus' 'nothing sweeter' than one's *patris* at *Od.* 9.28 and 34). Orestes then interjects an appeal for at least some sympathy on his own behalf for having not only to leave 'the house of my father' (*oikōn patros*) but to throw himself on the mercy of a foreign (*allotriais*) court on a charge of matricide. In a play that has turned on the siblings' vengeance for their biological father and the undoing through violence of their own separation and displacement, the final emotional blow comes from their loss instead of the fatherland of Argos itself.

Philoktetes Then I call out to this island
as I start on my departure.
Fare you well, my home, my look-out,
and you nymphs of water-meadows,
and you bass-voiced booming
of the ocean breakers.
Farewell, place where often,
though inside, my hair was wetted
by the south wind's sea-spray;
and where often Mount Hermaion
would resound with echoes
to my own tempestuous howling.
Now, you springs and Lykian well-head,
I am leaving you, yes,
leaving you for ever –
which I thought would never happen.
Farewell, sea-encircled land of
Lemnos, send me
on a fair and faultless voyage,
where strong fate conveys me,
and the good advice of comrades,
and the all-subduing godhead
who has brought these things to pass.

Chorus Come along then on our way
all together; and we pray,
Nymphs of Ocean, please convey
us safely back to home one day.[13]

Sophocles, *Philoktetes* 1452–71
(tr. Taplin 2015: 208).

[13] Philoktetes: *φέρε νυν στείχων χώραν καλέσω.* 1452
χαῖρ', ὦ μέλαθρον ξύμφρουρον ἐμοί,
νύμφαι τ' ἔνυδροι λειμωνιάδες,
καὶ κτύπος ἄρσην πόντου προβολῆς, 1455
οὗ πολλάκι δὴ τοὐμὸν ἐτέγχθη
κρᾶτ' ἐνδόμυχον πληγαῖσι νότου,

Philoktetes is the only play to end with the word *nostos* in its final line—where Taplin is surely right to translate it as referring not, or not just, to the return from Lemnos to Troy but from Troy to Greece after the success of Philoktetes' mission. Though Philoktetes is happy to be released from his island prison, he nevertheless feels the pull of many different strands of place attachment. The cave is his house, his *melathron* (the same word as Polyneikes' palace at *Phoenician Women* 367 above), and has been a comrade with him in his lookout duty (*xumphrouron*, 1453); the marshlands are home to invisible nymphs (1453); the sea has been his beatbox. The ties of frequently repeated action build the bond: often (*pollaki*, 1456) he got soaked even when he was indoors, which in no way qualifies as a pleasant memory, and the mountains often (*polla*, 1457) echoed his howls of anguish (*stonon*, 1457). In place of a modern banality on the lines of 'I'm going to miss this place,' Philoktetes appeals in rapid succession to sight, sound, touch, and invisible sentient presences to evoke the multiple ways in which the seemingly inanimate landscape can assume an intimately bonded personality, a responsive voice, and a role in the shaping of identity, and in which even a prison cell can be a part of you.[14]

Such scenes, and many others like them, show tragedy exploring the emotional associations between persons and places in the context of larger combinatorial narratives of exile and return which develop

πολλὰ δὲ φωνῆς τῆς ἡμετέρας
Ἑρμαῖον ὄρος παρέπεμψεν ἐμοὶ
στόνον ἀντίτυπον χειμαζομένῳ. 1460
νῦν δ', ὦ κρῆναι Λύκιόν τε ποτόν,
λείπομεν ὑμᾶς, λείπομεν ἤδη
δόξης οὔ ποτε τῆσδ' ἐπιβάντες.
χαῖρ', ὦ Λήμνου πέδον ἀμφίαλον,
καί μ' εὐπλοίᾳ πέμψον ἀμέμπτως, 1465
ἔνθ' ἡ μεγάλη Μοῖρα κομίζει
γνώμη τε φίλων χὠ πανδαμάτωρ
δαίμων, ὃς ταῦτ' ἐπέκρανεν.
Chorus: χωρῶμεν δὴ πάντες ἀολλεῖς,
Νύμφαις ἁλίαισιν ἐπευξάμενοι 1470
νόστου σωτῆρας ἱκέσθαι.

[14] It is hard not to think of these lines at the end of Emma Donoghue's novel and film *Room* (Donoghue 2010 and film adaptation 2015), fictionalized out of the documented experience and memoirs of survivors of abduction and long-term imprisonment and abuse, whose final scene of poignant goodbyes expresses the child's final disengagement from his emotional attachment to the titular prison of his birth.

the epic repertoire of *nostos* patterns and feelings into a personalized set of emotional bonds with places and the genealogies of memory that run through them. In the Greek world, migration narratives were strongly involved in the construction of local, regional, and ethnic identities, and in the Archaic and Classical periods especially the canon of *nostos* myths were already absorbing a network of regional traditions into a Panhellenic master narrative of catastrophic diaspora, bringing an end to the age of heroes in a way that mythographically encoded the lost cultural memory of the Mycenaean collapse. In this narrative it is the Trojan War, as Lykophron's Kassandra saw, which is the event that writes the narrative encyclopedia of the end of myth and the birth of its audience's history out of it. And as a narratological clearing house for the tropes and traditions of *nostos* plotting, tragedy arrives at a crucial moment in this forging of a collective master history out of local myths of identity: repackaging issues of group identity in the form of personal emotional experience in embodied space in fixed locations where individual characters can only ever arrive and depart, and bequeathing a repertoire of recombinant and intertextual narrative mechanisms for the affective articulation of complex processes of cultural memory and identity formation in emotionally salient narrative forms. In the larger history of ancient narrative poetics, tragedy is something of a narratological sausage factory, taking in offal and offcuts from epic, lyric, and local tradition, and turning out a steady string of shapely, appealing narrative treats in tasty Aristotelian skins. But one of the consequences of this process of poetic manufacture is to turn feelings about places into an extended corpus of culturally potent collective narratives of geographic rupture and belonging: acts of creative nostalgia for a collective homeland in the deep past. McGuire's *Here* turns on the recognition that places survive where lives, families, and even humanity itself do not, and that place attachment is a powerful emotional instrument on which to score the experience of deep time on a scale which vastly transcends the individual. And it is this that enables a single location like Kassandra's cell or the memory of our childhood living room to be perforated by panoramic windows on the whole of history and the emotionally invested transgenerational narratives of diaspora and yearning for home that it encompasses—and Kassandra, the inspired poet-protagonist of Lykophron's encyclopedic tragedy of returns, to be history's first and greatest tragedian.

9

Macedonians and *nostoi*

Robin Lane Fox

The term *nostos*, or 'return', most readily refers to a return from a big event away from home (the Trojan War) or a return to a place where others, related by language or origin, have already been present or resident. These two types of return are the subjects, respectively, of post-Homeric Cyclic poetry and Virgil's epic, the *Aeneid*. In the former, Greek heroes returning from Troy come to settle in new homes abroad. In the latter, travelling Trojans, fleeing their ruined city, do the same in lands, however, which have already been settled by some of their ancestors, shadowy though the precedents of Dardanus, Iasius, or Corythus in Italy remain for us.[1] In what follows I will be discussing the Virgilian type of *nostos*, a return by people, at first unawares, to lands formerly visited or settled by their kinsmen. My subjects are Macedonians in the Greek north. First, I wish to emphasize that the location of travelling myths and heroes was not a late development among them as if they were somehow lagging behind Greek *poleis* to the south or in the Chalkidike. Then I will follow myth-locating Macedonians and their accompanying officers, including Thessalians, into Asia, where I will present close-ups of their minds in action, followed by a wider-angled view of their discoveries in India. As a result I will correct a recent view of the psychology of Alexander and his use of myth as a conqueror. I will then make a similar point about Macedonians and, again, some Thessalians soon after his death. I will end with a more general point about Greeks and the 'Other'.

[1] V. *A.* 3. 167–8, 7. 206–7; Horsfall 1987; Fletcher 2014.

By the sixth century BCE the new ruling clique in, as yet, a small part of Macedon, the Argeadai, had already recycled themselves as Argeioi. This new identity had a value which has hitherto gone unrecognized. The northern and eastern sides of their fledgling kingdom were ruled by the Paionians, a people, Herodotus confirms, who claimed to be Trojans by origin.[2] This claim had invaluable Homeric support. In *Iliad* book 21 Paionian Asteropaios, grandson of the river Axios, praises his own land and even grazes the great Achilles in single combat before Achilles kills him.[3] By contrast, Macedonians had no such honoured status in Homer's poems. In the mid sixth century BCE, these Paionians, self-styled Trojans, still ruled the lands down the Axios river, including the site of Pella.[4] The Argeadai, self-styled Argives, then drove them back and captured this crucial strip of territory. In the process the first replay of the Trojan War occurred. It was fought in Macedon in the late sixth century, Argives versus Trojans, and once again the Argives won.

Earlier still, when the Argeadai entered the great plain below Mount Bermion, perhaps *c.*650 BCE, they had found facts which also required some explanatory myth-making. In the plain they encountered pockets of people whom they called Bryges. To modern scholars these Bryges are remains of people who had migrated there from Europe in the later second millennium BCE before migrating east into Asia and, ultimately, settling Gordion and Phrygia. Evidence for their presence in lower Macedon indeed survives, but not in the Macedonian language nor in the place name Edessa where nineteenth-century philologists once sought it and even Hammond endorsed it.[5] Instead, it survives in cults. In Archaic Aigai there was a cult of the mother goddess Kybele, a Phrygian by origin.[6] In inscriptions, admittedly not until the second century CE, we meet the mother goddess at nearby Leukopetra, the goddess called *oreia*, 'of the mountains',

[2] Hdt. 5. 13. 2–3. [3] *Il.* 21.138–202 with 2. 848.

[4] Hammond and Griffith 1979: 55–8 and 65; Th. 2.99.4; Strabo 7 fragments 7a and 17a Radt.

[5] Hammond 1972: 302–9; however, the nineteenth-century 'Phrygian' derivation of the name Edessa is no longer tenable, as it was based only on the mistaken proposals that the Phrygian word 'bedu' necessarily meant 'water', that it underlay the later Slavonic place name 'Vodhena' and that Edessa, not modern Vergina, was the site of ancient Aigai. Dr A. Panayotou has kindly confirmed to me the problems in all these arguments.

[6] Drougou 2011: 251.

and repeatedly described as *autochthon*.[7] I take it that this epithet emphasized that the goddess at Leukopetra was not the mother goddess who was known in Asian Phrygia, but the original one who had been in this mountainous part of Macedon before the Phrygians introduced their own mother goddess to the plain. When Herodotus visited the Macedonian court, these Bryges were presented by his Macedonian oral informants as living in the 'gardens of Midas', the lovely plain-land below Mount Bermion where roses, Herodotus remarks, flower with sixty petals.[8] His comment, incidentally, is the first mention of Damask roses in history. In these gardens Silenos was captured, he also remarks, adding, significantly, 'as the Macedonians say'. By about 440 BCE, therefore, Macedonians were explaining the enigmatic Bryges or Phryges as companions and descendants of a related figure, Midas, once the conqueror of their lowland plain. Did they consider this Midas to be a much earlier figure of myth rather than the Midas who is known to us as a ruler in Asian Phrygia *c.*700 BCE?[9] An early, to us mythical, Midas has been assumed here by modern scholars, but the distinction between myth and history will not have been clear-cut to Macedonians *c.*500 BCE, and by then legend was already gathering round the historical Midas's name in the Greek world. Certainly this area and its Phrygian associations remained of great interest locally. Silenos's capture and questioning by Midas near these gardens is fascinatingly described by Theopompos, a visitor to Philip's court in the 340s BCE.[10] In the 330s Kallisthenes, Alexander's historian, seems to have explained that Midas's riches had derived from mines on Mount Bermion above the gardens.[11] This reference applies more readily to the person whom we know as the Midas of history, the king who had attracted the tale of his 'golden touch' and his great riches, although in real life he was a ruler *c.*710 BCE.

Midas's presence and conquests in Europe were not strictly a *nostos,* but they became involved in one in two ways. One, I believe, partly underlies the interest which Greek literature's greatest obscurantist took in the subject, voiced by the prophetic Kassandra of Lykophron or, to some modern commentators, 'Lykophron B'.

[7] Petsas, Hatzopoulos, Gounaropoulou, and Paschidis 2000: 28–9 and text no. 156.
[8] Hdt. 8.138. 2–3 and Strabo 7 F14 Radt.
[9] Hammond 1972: 303–8 and 410–4; Hornblower 2015: 484–6
[10] *FGrHist* 115 Theopompos F 75A.
[11] *FGrHist* 124 Kallisthenes F 54, where he is probably the source for the detail about Bermion.

This Kassandra prophesies how Midas will avenge the Trojan-Phrygian war by attacking the land which is the 'nurse of the *tagos* (ruler) of the dead'. This *tagos* is evidently Minos. As commentators have long realized, the nurse here is Europa, traditionally King Minos's mother.[12] Kassandra, however, is skilled at multi-layered intertextuality, and so I wish to propose another layer to the direction which her language takes here. Midas's gardens lay in land which was ascribed by local tradition to the Bottiaians before they were driven east by the Argeads and left to settle at Olynthos.[13] Strabo, probably drawing on Hekataios of Miletos, explains twice in book 6 and twice in our fragments of book 7 that the Bottiaians were Kretans by origin who had followed Minos, no less, to Sicily. When they were disappointed there and were led back by the Kretan Botton, they settled in Macedon and named their land Bottiaea.[14] This land is the very land in which Herodotus's informants located Midas and his gardens. I suggest this secondary link was in Lykophron's many-chambered mind, encouraging him to link Midas's conquests in Macedon to Minos, the Kretan *tagos* of the dead (*Alex*. 1399). The people whom Midas conquered in Europe when he took the gardens by force were companions of Minos, those Kretans on a *nostos* from Sicily.

At the very least these interconnections show that mythical tales of return and origin proliferated in Macedon, certainly before Herodotus visited and heard some of them in person. I now wish to follow their role in subsequent *nostos* stories, tales of return in the Virgilian manner, in which Macedonians claimed to have returned to lands once held or visited by their forebears or forerunners. The first such *nostos* grows out of Midas's presence in Macedon's lowlands before he crossed into Asia and settled there in Phrygia. In winter 334–333 Alexander stopped at Gordion in Phrygia and heard of the famous chariot, the prophecy attached to it, and the celebrated knot. Those stories, he learned, related to one Gordios, father of Midas. In 1961 E. A. Fredriksmeyer first proposed that this story would have interested him greatly because of Macedon's links to Midas, once the ruler of its lowland plain.[15] Alexander's historian Kallisthenes seems to

[12] Lyk. *Alex*. 1397–9; Hornblower 2015: 485.
[13] Thuc. 2.99.3; Hammond 1972: 412.
[14] Strabo 6.3.2; 6.3.6; 7 F 7a and 23a Radt.
[15] Arr. *Anab*. 2.3; Fredricksmeyer 1961. I do not agree with Hammond 1972: 412 n.1 that the Midas cited at Gordion was an even earlier mythical ancestor.

have accepted the tradition of Midas's Macedonian presence, and it is hard to believe that his learned mind failed to make the connection at Gordion. However, neither Arrian nor any surviving Alexander-source makes it explicit and there is no hint that Alexander or those with him publicized the relation with Gordion which was founded on Midas's *nostos* from Macedon. Is their silence mere chance, due to our historians' abbreviation of their sources, or were Macedonians at first insensitive to the possibility that myths rooted in Macedon could also be found by themselves in Asia?

Indeed they were not, as I will show with a neglected claim made by Alexander himself. In 332/1, according to his publicist Kallisthenes, Alexander was rivalling the sons of Zeus, Herakles and Perseus, in Egypt when he went to Ammon's oracle.[16] These god-born heroes, ancestors of the Macedonian kings, had already visited the site before him. Seen in this light, the visit to Siwah was a follow-up, if not exactly a 'return'. To this much-discussed piece of publicity I wish to add an overlooked item from Pliny's *Natural History* book 15, one, too, which is likely to be based on Kallisthenes's history. At Memphis in Egypt, Pliny says, Alexander encountered a tree called persea. To modern botanists it is *Mimusops schimpferi*, but Alexander believed, we are told, that the persea tree had been planted there by Perseus. As a result, Pliny says, he gave branches of it to crown the victors in athletic games at Memphis.[17] Now, it was exactly in spring 331, fresh from Siwah, that Alexander indeed held athletic games at Memphis.[18] At this very time Perseus was much on the minds of himself and his publicist, not least because Perseus was a fellow son of Zeus. At Memphis a distinctive tree seemed to him to be a relic of Perseus's presence through an apparent similarity of name. We will encounter this same habit of thought elsewhere, but it is important to note that it was already in evidence early in 331 when Alexander was surrounded by close friends like Ptolemy and others and by educated Greeks, Kallisthenes being the most prominent.

Following the transitory Perseus's route was not quite the same as returning in a *nostos* to lands where he or a mythical forebear had actually settled or left followers. However, within two years, a true *nostos* occurred. Thessalians with Alexander believed they had

[16] *FGrHist* 124 Kallisthenes F 14.
[17] Plin. *NH* 15.45–6; Amigues 2002: 141–7.
[18] Arr. *Anab.* 3.6.1; Curt. 4.8.16.

discovered kinsmen of the Thessalian hero Armenos, a companion of Thessalian Jason. They discovered them, no less, in Armenia.

In book 11 Strabo tells of two Thessalians with Alexander, Kyrsilos of Pharsalos and Medeios of Larissa, whose book on the matter he evidently then uses as a source.[19] Medeios was a noble Aleuad, the man who was to host the controversial dinner for Alexander in Babylon in May 323 and then live on in Antigonid service for many years.[20] Strabo explicitly says that it was while serving with Alexander that Medeios and Kyrsilos entered Armenia and wrote of their amazing discovery: the Armenians, they found, were fellow Thessalians, descended from Armenos, a man from Thessalian Armenion and a companion of Jason, and from Thessalians who had travelled with him. Armenians' cloaks were fastened with similar clasps to those used by Thessalians. Their long tunics were also similar and so was their style of riding. Also, Strabo adds, surely still using Kyrsilos and Medeios as his sources, there were local Iasonia, shrines for the worship of Jason, which testified to Jason's expedition into Armenia.[21] In 1930 J. Markwart brilliantly postulated that there was a Median word *yazona, meaning a sanctuary, a proposal which was supported in 1960 with the discovery of just such a word, 'ayezan', on a Parthian ostracon from Nisa, as Bernard has helpfully explained.[22] To Greek ears these '*ayezana*' sounded like Iasonia, proof indeed that the Thessalians had discovered shrines for their long-lost kinsman. Strabo tells us, no doubt on the same two Thessalians' authority, that there were Iasonia 'much revered by the barbarians' in Media, too.

When were these amazing discoveries made? In 1996 Brian Bosworth suggested that the Thessalians' journey into Armenia belonged in 322/1 when Perdikkan forces indeed invaded part of this land.[23] He proposed this dating because, as we will see, it suited a more general argument which he wished to advance about Alexander and his use of myth. Strabo merely states that the Thessalians who went into Armenia 'had served with Alexander', without specifying when or necessarily implying that their venture was after his death.[24] However, he also states that Menon, manifestly another Thessalian,

[19] Strabo 11.14.12. [20] Habicht 1970.
[21] Strabo 11.14.12–13; Bernard 1997.
[22] Markwart 1930: 531–45 with Bernard 1997: 140–8 and 146 n. 45 for the Parthian evidence.
[23] Bosworth 1996a: 119 n. 99. [24] Strabo 11.14.12.

was sent by Alexander himself with soldiers to check out the gold mines in Sysparitis. These assets were sited far away in west Armenia, as Paul Bernard has brilliantly demonstrated. When did Menon go off on this long journey? Evidently it was at much the same time as his fellow Thessalians Medeios and Kyrsilos. Thessalian kin were also 'discovered' in Sysparitis, by Menon, therefore, who visited it and was aware of his fellow Thessalians' theory.[25] Bernard has proposed that Menon's mission began late in 331 from Babylon when Alexander indeed sent Mithrines off to be satrap of Armenia. However, there is no mention of a mission for Menon, too, at this point, let alone one with soldiers, and I prefer a slightly later date when Thessalians were certainly finding a new role and Mithrines had presumably established himself in his satrapy. In May 330 Parmenion was left by Alexander in Media and Thessalian cavalrymen, no less, were left with him. Their unit was offered a safe return to the Aegean Sea and a very handsome pay-off, but any who wished could re-enlist as volunteers, and 'not a few', according to Arrian, did so. They remained for a while in Hamadan and then went on east to rejoin Alexander.[26] I propose that the adventure of Medeios and Kyrsilos in Armenia and Menon the Thessalian's mission to Sysparitis on Alexander's orders belonged exactly at that time, in summer 330. Their cavalry unit was disbanded, but like 'not a few' of their fellow Thessalians they stayed on. As their old unit did not need them in the same way, Alexander sent them with soldiers on a special mission into Armenia.

The manuscript text of Strabo goes on to mention something extremely strange. Some of the Jason shrines, it says, were ones 'which dynasts there destroyed, *kateskapsan*, very much like Parmenion and the shrine of Jason in Abdera'.[27] Until now this passage has not been explained. The *polis* of Abdera is not known to have had any shrine of Jason and there is not a plausible hint of Jason, either, on the imagery of its much-studied coinage or anywhere else in the surviving record. In the late 340s Abdera submitted to King Philip

[25] Strabo 11.14.9; Bernard 1999 is the essential study; Strabo 11.14.12 presents Sysparitis, too, as Thessalian, no doubt as claimed by Menon.

[26] Bernard 1999: 48–51 favours a date related to Arr. *Anab*. 3.16.5, Diod. 17.64.6, and Curt. 5.1.44. I prefer a link with Arr. *Anab*. 3.19.5–6, 3.25.4, and 3.29.5; Strootman 2010–11 gives a general survey of Thessalians in Alexander's army.

[27] Strabo 11.14.12: *τὴν δὲ Ἰάσονος στρατείαν καὶ τὰ Ἰασόνια μαρτυρεῖ, ὧν τινὰ οἱ δυνάσται κατέσκαψαν* (read *κατεσκεύασαν*) *παραπλησίως ὥσπερ τὸν ἐν Ἀβδήροις* (read *νεὼν*) (read *ἐν τῇι Βάριδι νεὼν*) *τοῦ Ἰάσονος Παρμενίων*.

and a new Abdera was built up, but there, too, there is no hint of a shrine to Jason.[28]

No other source ever says that Parmenion did anything whatsoever at Abdera. As a result, historians have struggled to suggest a context for Strabo's remark. Just before it, Strabo has commented that the Iasonia, the Jason shrines, are honoured *sphodra*, 'greatly', by the barbarians: *kateskapsan*, therefore, seems wholly wrong for the conduct of barbarian dynasts towards such places. With Casaubon and others since, I accept that emendation is necessary and like them, I read *kateskeuasan* for *kateskapsan*: the barbarian dynasts respectfully 'built up' Iasonia, and so did Parmenion. There is, however, an obstacle to this textual change. In book 42 of his epitome of Trogus, Justin writes that 'almost the entire East set up divine honours and temples to Jason, but Parmenion ordered them to be destroyed so that no name would seem more venerable in the East than Alexander's.'[29] Justin's reason for such action by Parmenion is absurd. Very soon after his arrival in Ecbatana, Parmenion was killed on Alexander's orders, before temples for Alexander were an issue at all in the East. I therefore propose that Trogus's text, based ultimately on the same source as Strabo's, was using a copy of it which was also already corrupt and which read *kateskapsan*, not *kateskeuasan*. It shows that the corruption began early.

Justin-Trogus at least assumes that Parmenion's involvement with Jason had occurred in the East, not in Thracian Abdera. So, I propose a second corruption in our text of Strabo, one which explains the words *en Abdērois*. Instead of them, we need a place near Ecbatana, Parmenion's base in Media. There is no obvious candidate in later topographic sources, from Isidore of Charax to Pliny and Ptolemy's *Geography*. However, if we read on in Strabo, we find his mention of a road that leads from the direction of Mount Abos into Ecbatana, passing 'the temple', *ton neōn*, 'of Baris', *tēs Bāridos*.[30] As Louis

[28] Chryssanthaki 2001 and Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007: 383–406 where she accepts (p.165) a supposed 'head of Jason' on a coin issued by Heragoras in her Period VI. This suggestion is only based on a tentative guess by Robinson 1934: 247–8: Hermes is the usual identification and one which I accept. However, May 1966: 192 named Jason, uncritically, even citing the enigmatic Strabo 11.14.12 as a support (miscited by Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2007: 165 n.3 as 'Strabo 9.4.12').

[29] Just. *Epit*. 42.3.5.

[30] Strabo 11.14.14: *ὁ Ἄβος ἐγγύς ἐστι τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς εἰς Ἐκβάτανα φερούσης παρὰ τὸν τῆς Βάριδος νεών*.

Robert long ago showed, *baris* is a Greek rendering of a place name indicating a tower in a domain estate, well attested in Anatolia.[31] I suggest that in paragraph 12 we emend our text of Strabo and its enigmatic 'temple', *neōn*, 'of Jason at Abdera' to *ton en tēi Bāridi neōn tou Iasonos*, 'the temple of Jason at Baris', reading *tēi Bāridi* instead of the corrupt *Abdērois*. The temple of Jason then becomes the one which is mentioned in Strabo's next chapter but one, where it is said to stand on the way into Ecbatana. If so, it was at a fortified site, a *baris*, that Parmenion founded, *kateskeuasen*,[32] a shrine in honour of Jason. Perhaps the *baris* was already the site of an Iranian shrine or *ayezan*, one which encouraged Parmenion's honours there for the like-sounding Jason.

Two textual emendations may seem hard to accept, but the text as it stands is inexplicable at both points, and at one is inconsistent with itself (*kateskapsan)*. Even without these emendations the text as transmitted is stating that Parmenion accepted the presence of Jason in Media in what has to be 330, before his death that very autumn. Likewise, the Thessalians despatched into Armenia at the same time were finding yet more traces of Jason's presence and a Thessalian ancestry for the Armenians. However, there was even more. Plutarch, *Life of Alexander* 35 has long puzzled editors by beginning to describe how Alexander passed through Babylonia, but by going on to describe how in Ecbatana he became aware of local pools of naphtha and their inflammability. All editors from Ziegler to Hamilton have simply obelized the word Ecbatana here as inconsistent with Babylonia, but the transition, I think, was indeed Plutarch's own .The naphtha sources in Babylonia are well known, not only to BP, but there are also significant naphtha pools near Ecbatana, remarked on by travellers from Chardin onwards.[33] After mentioning them, Plutarch goes on to tell the tale of the singing boy Stephanos, 'ridiculous to look at', in Alexander's entourage, who volunteered fatally to be dowsed in naphtha.[34] As it stands, the logic of this story is not immediately clear, but it makes excellent sense if we realize that Stephanos was so ugly that he had never inflamed anyone in his life and so there was a certain wit in inviting him to be dowsed

[31] Robert 1960: 353 n. 4 and 1963: 14–16.
[32] The singular form of Strabo's plural verb *kateskeuasan*.
[33] Chardin 1988: 165. [34] Plut. *Alex*. 35.5–9.

in naphtha as he would not inflame that, either. It was a joke, and he volunteered, but it went horribly wrong as he caught fire.

The story indeed belongs near Ecbatana, just as Plutarch says, because naphtha wells were famous there, too. Significantly Plutarch remarks that 'they say' that the naphtha involved in the disaster was also the source of the poison used by Medea. Medea had nothing to do with Babylonia, but her links with Media are well attested through her brother Medos and through the name of the Medes, as Herodotus had already remarked.[35] Plutarch's comment is further evidence that he indeed meant Ekbatana when he named the naphtha's source. Before Alexander, if any Greek had ever visited Ekbatana, nobody had written anything about it, but in 330 Parmenion and others had spent months in the city and its surrounds. They had found traces of Jason nearby and they also witnessed an inflammable and deadly liquid in Jason and Medea's land. When Alexander returned there in autumn 324 he and his court could have seen the substance in action. However, I suspect from Plutarch's placing of the story that the Stephanos affair belonged on Alexander's first brief visit in 330. Whenever we date it, the people known to Plutarch who first linked naphtha with Medea's poison are manifestly people around Alexander. It was not an idle theory. Prominent Macedonians loved the theatre and its classic dramas. In Euripides's play, Medea's poison is said to have caused a tunic to cling to its recipient's skin and a crown to burst spontaneously into flames on her head.[36] No doubt they had seen it staged at Pella or Aigai. Likewise, the naphtha at Ecbatana was seen to ignite spontaneously on poor Stephanos the singer, thitherto the least inflammatory of young men.

A persea tree in Egypt, traces of Jason in Armenia, and Medea's poisonous naphtha may seem items of purely antiquarian interest. They bear, however, on a recent powerfully moralized theory of Alexander, his mentality and his uses of myth. Before addressing it we need to remember that the Thessalians' discoveries in Armenia were not part of a story of *nostos* promoted by Alexander or by his publicists. They were the independent inferences of at least three Thessalians who believed they were experiencing a classic *nostos,* one which, to us, has the full Virgilian scope of the term. As they travelled into Armenia they realized that they were returning to lands

[35] Hdt. 7.62; Bernard 1997: 139–41. [36] E. *Med.* 1185–9.

in which their own Thessalian ancestors had once settled. At the time of these discoveries Alexander was far away, as was his historian Kallisthenes. These Thessalians were hard men of battle, as was Parmenion, Alexander's senior general, but like them, he was convinced that Jason had already been to Ekbatana and its surrounds in the distant past. They were acting on their own inferences, based on apparent similarities of dress, customs, river names, and the suggestive ayezanas.

Three years later, Alexander was himself to discover traces of two Greek predecessors, a god and a demigod, and realize that his entry into Indian lands was a *nostos*, not an invasion of virgin territory. His use of these predecessors has been presented by Brian Bosworth as crucial to what he considers to be Alexander's intensifying insistence on his own divinity and the presentation of his Indian conquests as 'legitimate'.[37] His interpretation is related to two others, his concern to compare Alexander's invasion with the conquistadors' in the New World and his claim, an eminently contestable one, that since the year 329/8 there had been a marked increase in Alexander's ideas of his own autocracy and his 'fervid aspirations to divinity'. Bosworth presents Alexander from 328 onwards as frequently isolated from the Greek intellectuals who had gone east with him and as travelling apart only with troops. In such circumstances, he considers, it would hardly be surprising 'if his thinking lacked balance and took directions which appear bizarre to modern minds'.[38]

The implication here is that Alexander, unchecked, was leaving reality far behind. Others might question whether the notions of Greek intellectuals would necessarily have been less bizarre than tales which began among soldiers. The tales concerned two much-travelled Greek divinities, Herakles and Dionysos.

First, Herakles. While preparing to assault the great mountain of Aornos, Alexander learned that Herakles had tried to take it before him and had failed. Then, further south in the lower Punjab, he learned of a people, the Sibai, who wore skins, carried clubs, and branded their cattle with the mark of a club, Herakles's attribute.[39] Even further south in India, it was later claimed that a Herakles had once ruled and that he had had sex with his seven-year-old daughter

[37] Bosworth 1996a: 164–5. [38] Bosworth 1996a: 98.

[39] Arr. *Anab.* 4.28.1–4; Diod. 17.85.2; Curt. 8.11.2; Strabo 15.1.8: Arr. *Indica* 5.12; Arr. *Anab.* 5.3.4; Strabo 15.1.8; Brunt 1983: 435–42 for a full discussion.

Pandaia in order to perpetuate his line. That claim stretched Greek credulity.[40]

Even Arrian was not much persuaded by such evidence.[41] However, Dionysos's presence seemed to him to be credible. Again, the details are well known. In 329, beyond the river Jaxartes, Alexander observed ivy and concluded that he was back in Europe and that the god Dionysos had been there before him.[42] This sort of reasoning was applied again in Nuristan, two years later, when he met vines, yet more ivy, and a place name which sounded like Nysa and a Mount Mēros, as the locals seemed to say. Here indeed was multiple evidence that he was in Dionysos's land. According to Arrian, Alexander 'wanted what was being told as a tale about Dionysos's wanderings to be trustworthy (*pista*)', believable to himself, that is, not 'to be believed' by his men as propaganda whether true or not.[43] Two years later he met more evidence on the river Ravi just south of modern Lahore among the Oxydrakai who had prepared to fight him. They, too, grew vines and when they processed out, they did so in lavish style, beating drums and wearing flowery robes. So Dionysos was cited as a forerunner in the Greek story of their intercessions with Alexander himself.[44]

As Bosworth observes, we have no evidence that any Greek source before Alexander's arrival had sited either Dionysos or Herakles in India.[45] However, he also writes at times as if Alexander and his officers were running a 'propaganda' machine of East European proportions, in which Alexander was engaged in the 'creation of belief' and 'it is clear that Alexander's staff had become proficient in the manufacture of myth.'[46] To us, as to the hard-headed Eratosthenes later in Alexandria, the claims to have found traces of Herakles and Dionysos are indeed extremely flimsy, but they were not a categorically new development. Already in Egypt Alexander had made a bold inference from a plant, the persea, and its suggestive name.

Alexander and his authors were not imagining their *nostos* in India without evidence. Behind their inferences, as scholars have long recognized, lie Indian stories and divinities, though at this date

[40] Arr. *Indica* 8.4–7, 9.1–8.
[41] Arr. *Indica* 5.10–13.
[42] Curt. 7.9.11; Plin. *HN* 6.49; Bosworth 1995: 31 and 207.
[43] Arr. *Anab.* 5.1.3–2.7; Arr. *Indica* 5.9; Strabo 15.1.8.
[44] Arr. *Anab.* 6.14.2–3; Strabo 15. 1. 8; Curt. 8.7.15.
[45] Bosworth 1996b: 140–61.
[46] Bosworth 1996a: 126–7.

we do not know which, as the Hindu gods Krishna and his club-bearing associates and Shiva with his drums only crystallised later. Even the story of Herakles's incest in the south with Pandaia can be traced to items known in an Indian context.[47] Megasthenes, who told it, was himself aware of Indian stories, relayed to him in translation, as Stoneman has importantly reiterated.[48] Certainly, there was no absolute wall between Indian stories and wisdom and what Alexander and his followers discovered. Although they only heard versions which interpreters or 'go-betweens' translated into Greek, these stories were springboards for their own inferences. Clear examples of such transmission by Indians are known. From 326 onwards, an Indian ascetic whom the Macedonians called 'Kalanos' was attended for his 'wisdom' by some of Alexander's officers.[49] He was an ascetic *ajivika*, not a Brahman as has often wrongly been assumed, and I have argued elsewhere that he is indeed the Kallaneus whom Greek meteorological texts cite as a source for teachings about the stars and weather.[50] In a challenging book, Christopher Beckwith has now argued that that elusive entity, 'Pure Land Buddhism', indeed circulated in fourth-century BCE India, and even that its teachings became known to members of Alexander's expedition, including the sceptic Pyrrhon.[51] Certainly Buddhist stories were eventually available to curious Greek inquirers, as research into the later Alexander Romance has quite separately established. Richard Stoneman has pointed to early Buddhist sources for the powerful tale of Alexander's dying orders to Olympias to give a banquet for all those who had never known sadness in their lives.[52] As for other Indian influence, Aleksandra Szalc has made a good case for an Indian origin for the Romance's theme, albeit a late one, of the Well of Immortality.[53] Another candidate is the romance's tale of trees in the East with talking human faces in them. As Stoneman has also suggested, it is likely to be related to the tales of 'people trees' which have been identified in Indian wisdom.[54]

For Bosworth, Alexander's myth-making in India became the model which his followers imitated elsewhere. In Armenia, he

[47] Karttunen 1989: 210–9. [48] Stoneman 2017: 195–9.
[49] Arr. *Anab*. 7.3.4 with Plut. *Alex*. 65.5 for his naming; Lane Fox 2011: 11.
[50] Stoneman 2016: 487.
[51] Beckwith 2015 and the important review by Stoneman 2016: 487–8.
[52] Szalc 2012: 327–38. [53] Stoneman 2011: 251.
[54] Haberman 2013 which Richard Stoneman kindly cited to me.

believes, the Thessalians Medeios and Kyrsilos were 'clearly following the precedent of their king. If Alexander could follow his ancestors into India, they might find evidence of Thessalian penetration in the far north.'[55] One *nostos*, on this view, spawned others. However, as we have seen, these Thessalians went into Armenia three years before Alexander even entered India. Their inferences were part of a widespread pattern of thinking which was in no way the creation of Alexander and his flatterers. Bosworth also sees the tales of Dionysos and Herakles in India as charter myths, legitimizing Alexander's Indian conquests. Certainly a *nostos* could serve this purpose, as readers of Virgil's Aineias and his arrival in Italy recognize. But did the Alexander-historians use Herakles and Dionysos in this way?

Unlike Aineias's *nostos* in Italy, Alexander's *nostos* in India is not said to have been supported by prophecies. In our histories the theme of *nostos* is not even proclaimed by Alexander himself. On the few occasions in which it is mentioned, it is adduced by Indian peoples themselves. It is presented as a part of their pleas for special treatment. Bosworth well remarks on the complex interrelations of what Indians may have said, what interpreters presented, and what historians then wrote up and passed on to Arrian. In his view, however, a 'process' emerged in which Indians learned what themes were agreeable to Alexander and emphasized them, and then interpreters, perhaps Alexander himself and certainly members of his entourage, emphasized them still more.[56] In my view we cannot know who invented what, except that Arrian's sources contained the version we now read. All we have is this later presentation.

In it, Bosworth lays particular emphasis on the delegation sent by the Oxydrakai and the message ascribed to them in Arrian. He presents the report of it as an 'interpretation which confers absolute legitimacy on the conquest', one which implies that Alexander had 'every justification to acquire what was his, and to acquire it by any means'. As a result 'even the conquered could be seen to acknowledge his legitimacy' and this myth of *nostos* was propagated to project the 'sanitised face of power'.[57] However, Arrian's actual account reads rather differently. The Oxydrakai, not Alexander, adduce the invasion of Dionysos and, unlike Bosworth, they do not regard Alexander as Dionysos's 'heir'.[58] Silence on this point is understandable, because

[55] Bosworth 1996a: 119.
[56] Bosworth 1996a: 124–5.
[57] Bosworth 1996a: 165.
[58] Arr. *Anab.* 6.14.2.

descent from Dionysos was never part of Alexander's genealogy in his lifetime, a point which Nock established in 1928 and which nothing has controverted since.[59] Rather, the Oxydrakai are made to excuse their initial failure to send envoys to Alexander by the statement that they have enjoyed 'freedom and autonomy' intact from Dionysos' invasion until Alexander's arrival. They then go on to make another point. 'But', *de*, as Alexander is [son] of a god (Arrian's manuscripts read 'of gods',which may better present the Oxydrakai's uncertainty, rather than the specific 'of a god', referring to Alexander's claim to a divine father, Zeus), they will accept a satrap, pay 'tributes that seem good to Alexander', and provide hostages.[60] In Bosworth's view, the encounter shows that 'an unprovoked and hideously savage campaign of aggression is translated by propaganda and imaginative translation into a justifiable war against stubborn rebels, defiant of legitimate authority.'[61] However, the recurring themes of his interpretation—legitimacy, justification, and so forth—are not in the text at all. Instead, the Dionysos theme arises obliquely, as a plea of the Indian envoys, and is not the grounds for their submission or for any 'right' to rule them.

In 326, in modern Nuristan, Arrian's famous account of a previous meeting with Akouphis and the people of Nysa has a similar shape.[62] Akouphis, too, is said to have stressed his people's 'freedom and autonomy' since the time of their founder Dionysos, from whose soldiers they were descended. At no point does Alexander himself cite Dionysos as a legitimation of his rule. Instead, touched by Akouphis's 'kinship diplomacy', he grants the requested freedom and autonomy, Greek concepts only, tempered by a demand for hostages. A year later in southern India Dionysos is mentioned again, the last of his only three appearances in diplomatic contexts. The powerful Sambastai (or Sabarkai) abandon their potential opposition and submit to Alexander, but again this submission is presented as owing nothing to 'legitimacy' transmitted to him by Dionysos. The detailed story is told only in Curtius, but it states clearly that the approach of Alexander's ships and his glistening army persuaded the Indians that they were being confronted with 'an army of gods'

[59] Nock 1928: 21–30 which Bosworth 1996a: 125 n. 128 does not succeed in adjusting.

[60] Arr. *Anab*. 6.14.2 with Brunt 1983: 141 n. 2 on the textual problem.

[61] Bosworth 1996a: 165.

[62] Arr. *Anab*. 5.1.3–2.7.

and another Dionysos, and so they surrendered without a fight.[63] Of course the underlying vulgate sources may have invented this motif and Curtius himself may have contributed to it, but at the level of representation, which is all we have, rights and a charter myth did not come into it at all.

In the source-based representations of Arrian and Curtius, the theme of a *nostos* on the tracks of Dionysos is not used as a justification for conquest. Its impact on Alexander is presented quite differently, as a source of rivalry, not legitimacy. He is said to strive to excel Dionysos or Herakles and to be pleased to think he has done so. Near the end of his life, when preparing to invade Arabia, he is still said to have cited the feats of Dionysos in this way.[64] On entering India he is also said to have welcomed Dionysos's precedent as an encouragement to his own troops. Even so, he is not said to have presented it as a 'justification' for his conquest of others.[65] Unlike Aineias's Dardanus, Dionysos was not Alexander's ancestor. He was merely one of the gods present in Macedon where he was worshipped in various cults and where, according to Euripides, he had once brought his 'whirling maenads' to the river plains of the Axios and Loudias.[66] In India, therefore, he was Alexander's forerunner, not his direct kith and kin. Alexander's ancestor, by contrast, was Herakles. Yet Alexander is never said to be reclaiming the Indian heritage of Herakles. In so far as Herakles is mentioned, he, too, is said only to have been a forerunner or an item for emulation.

In India, the theme of *nostos* is presented as a spur to rivalry, not as a charter for conquest. In 332, Alexander and his historians had been keen to present to a Greek public their invasion of Dareios's empire in terms which legitimated it publicly. From 326 on, they did not bother to legitimate their invasion of India in that sort of way. They just got on with it. To excel Herakles was to take a step further than merely following him, but even so to rival him was not a new departure in Alexander's publicity. In Egypt Alexander had already been presented as doing so. Nor was the Macedonians' inference that they were on a *nostos* in India new or 'bizarre'. Evidence of plants, dress, landscape, and local words and cults had already guided, or misguided, their interpretation of non-Greek places and peoples elsewhere. From Sogdia onwards this sort of thinking was not the unbalanced result

[63] Curt. 9.8.4–7; Diod. 17.102.1–4. [64] Arr. *Anab.*4.28.4; 5.2.1.
[65] Arr. *Anab.* 5.2.1. [66] E. *Ba.* 565–75.

of a new 'isolation' or 'fervid' insistence on personal divinity. It grew from a way of thinking which went right back to Archaic Macedon, to the myth of Midas and even to the Argead-Argives in the Trojan-Paionian war. It was also shared by battle-hardened Thessalians.

We cannot know what the ordinary soldier made of it. We know only how Alexander is said to have responded to it. However, it continued to flourish, significantly, in Macedonian and Thessalian company even after Alexander was dead. Of various possible examples I will choose one from Apameia in Syria. It surfaces in pseudo-Oppian's long poem on hunting, the Greek poem which has most deterred modern scholars, except, given its subject, enthusiasts for the sport of all sports. Its author pseudo-Oppian is indeed an 'Oppian B', because he belonged in the Severan age under Caracalla about fifty years after genuine Oppian, 'Oppian A', from south Cilicia.[67] In book 2, as Adrian Hollis, no huntsman or horseman himself, highlighted in 1994, Oppian B gives a sudden burst of myth in praise of Apameia in Syria.[68] Apameia was Oppian B's home town. As Hollis also pointed out, Apameia had initially been known as Pella before Seleukos I renamed it after his Iranian wife Apame. I assume that one reason for its first Greek name, as elsewhere in Macedonian Asia, was the presence of a local hill, a *pehel* in Semitic speech.[69] However, its twinning with Pella was also supported by shared details of landscape. Just like old Pella in Macedon, a part of new Pella in north Syria stood on an acropolis hill, in new Pella's case a very prominent one. It looked down a river which first became a lake and then ran out into the sea. So, too, old Pella in Macedon had an acropolis and a river, the Loudias, which ran into a lake and then gave access to the sea. Furthermore, old and new Pella were major homes for Hellenistic war elephants. Both sites had excellent river mud, an essential asset for elephants as they could wallow in it, a necessary exercise for their health. The land around old Pella was also *euhippos*, as Euripides well put it in his *Bacchae*, composed in Macedon itself. New Pella was *euhippos*, too, as it offered well-watered grazing for the Seleukid royal horses, up to 30,000 of them according to Strabo.[70]

[67] Ps.-Oppian *Cyn*.1.3–4 with Hamblenne 1968: 589–615; Oppian *Hal*. 3.7–8, 206–9, and 1.3 with *Suda* s.v. Oppianos.

[68] Ps.-Oppian *Cyn*. 2.115–58; Hollis 1994: 153–66; Bernard 1995: 386 for *pehel/Pella*.

[69] Ps.-Oppian *Cyn*. 2.101 and 114; Strabo 16.2.10.

[70] E. *Ba*. 574; Strabo 16.2.10.

Near old Pella there was a river Axios, while at new Pella in Syria, the settlers named their river 'Axios', too. Its other name, the Orontes, is much more familiar, but the alternative, Axios, survived to influence the Arabic name for the Orontes, 'nahar al Asi', and was still current in the last century.[71] In Homer's *Iliad* book 21, in the passage linked to the Paionians, Macedon's river Axios is said to have lusted, as river gods do, for the nymph Periboia and to have fathered a child on her, called Pēlegon.[72] Following up Hollis's observations, Paul Bernard excellently observed that in Macedon the river Axios runs down towards Pella but branches off first into the river Erigon/Pēlegon and then in antiquity into a second tributary which ran into Pella's lake, Lake Loudias.[73] At Apameia, or new Pella, the local river Axios also had a branch river and a lake which developed from it. By adapting Homer's lines about the old Axios, this lake, as Oppian B reveals, was explained as the home of a similar nymph, Meliboia, who had escaped the amorous advances of the river Axios and had left him grieving for her in her absence. As Hollis neatly explained, in Nonnus's poetry, about two hundred years after Oppian B, Apameia's Orontes is said to be grieving for an unsustained love, also a nymph. In Nonnos, the nymph is called Periboia, but she is obviously a variant on Oppian B's Meliboia.[74]

Hollis suggests, and Bernard supports, the Seleukid poet Euphorion of Chalkis as the source for the intricate myth which we now read in Oppian B.[75] Euphorion is said to have been buried in Apameia but I wish to go further back and suggest that, like the local place names, this aetiology of the lake, the river, and the landscape went right back to some of the first Macedonian settlers, as elsewhere in Asia, people with the topography of old Pella and perhaps even Homer's reference firmly imprinted on their minds. Like the Macedonians who named and settled a new Pieria on the north Syrian coast, the settlers at new Pella felt they were in a place with a clear look of home. If Euphorion was indeed Oppian B's particular source, I suspect that he developed his material from oral sources in Apameia where he ended his life. Alternatively, the stories lived on as part of Apameia's civic tradition and were known five centuries later to Oppian B because he was a man of the city.

[71] Bell 1907: 242 on the 'great swamp of the'Asī'. [72] *Il.* 21.139–43.
[73] Bernard 1995: 353–408. [74] Nonnos, *Dion.* 40.146–8.
[75] Hollis 1994: 164–6; T1 Lightfoot = *Suda* s.v. Euphorion, ϵ 3801 Adler.

New Pella was not only homely. Its settlers were told that it was the site of a true *nostos*: a great Greek hero had been there before them. Oppian B gives the story, that the opening out of Apameia's river valley was the work of Herakles while he was driving home cattle from mythical Erytheia.[76] Oppian B even elaborates memorably on the cattle which inhabit Apameia's excellent wetlands: fast, strong bulls, he says, though their exact breed eludes us. He does not realize that their presence in this seasonally flooded plain also explained how it could be inhabited throughout the year in antiquity. The cattle drew off and neutralized the teeming malarial mosquitoes, an asset omitted by Oppian B but one which made the wetland almost uninhabitable from the medieval period onwards when the bulls had died out.[77] However, there was even more to Herakles's presence. In Greece, he was well known as the hero who opened out the river Peneus's valley just over Macedon's border with Thessaly.[78] According to Oppian B, he had also opened out the river plain of Apameia.

Why did this story attach to it, far from Herakles's Greek itinerary? The answer, I think, relates to a significant settlement of Thessalians which existed on the Orontes river just south of Apameia at a site known, no less, as Larissa. It stood at a very important crossing point of the river, the site of the much older Sizara whose name lived on into modern times as Sheizar. Its existence is not merely attested by Diodorus book 33: its coin types show that it was inhabited by Thessalians who actually came from Larissa back home.[79] This new Larissa depended on Apameia, Strabo states, and its Thessalians were surely those who fostered the story of Herakles's involvement in the opening of the river course and lush plain at Apameia just to the north of their town. Most strikingly, a similar sort of comparison between the river plain of the Araxes in Armenia and the river plain of the Peneus in Thessaly had been made by Kyrsilos and Medeios, the two Thessalian travellers into Armenia on Alexander's behalf.[80] In Syria, a few decades later, fellow Thessalians also

[76] Ps.-Oppian *Cyn*. 2.100–49.

[77] Strabo 16.2.10; Dussaud 1927: 512.

[78] Diod. 4.18.6 and the important note by Bernard 1995: 364 n. 23, rightly adducing the place name Herakleion in Thessaly as even earlier evidence; Bernard 1997: 161–8 for Armenia and the Araxes.

[79] Diod. 33.4, discussed by Bernard 1995: 383 n. 67, but in a different context; Steph.Byz. s.v. Larissa, λ 45 Billerbeck; Wroth *BMC Syria* LXVIII–IX; Dussaud 1927: 199–200.

[80] Strabo 11.14.13.

explained their local river landscape by memories of their great river valley back home.

Unlike the 'heritage of Herakles', which was urged on Dorieus and his Spartans in western Sicily two centuries earlier, the Herakles myth and topography at new Pella were not being used as a charter to 'legitimate' the Macedonians' conquest of their new land.[81] That conquest had already happened decisively thanks to Alexander and his army. Rather, the myths made the conquered land more familiar to its settlers, turning it into more of a comfort zone, just as Alexander and his Macedonians surely felt when discovering Dionysos's city up in Nuristan. As in north Syria, similarities bred familiarity in land which had already been conquered by Macedonian troops. The sense of a *nostos* helped them to understand their new environment and relate to it.

Much has been written, sometimes too much, about Greeks and the Other, and even, supposedly, about the invention of Hellenic Greekness through Greeks' oppositional definition in the face of 'others'. Like those brave cavalrymen, the three Thessalians in Armenia, their Thessalian heirs near Apameia, and like Parmenion himself in Hamadan, I would incline to a different emphasis, shifting from the Other to the Same. Greeks from Homer onwards have a way of thinking that others are more like themselves than they really are. From Homer's Trojans to those Dionysians discovered on a Nuristani hillside, this way of thinking relates others to an all-embracing notion, what Bickerman well called the 'Greek family of peoples'.[82] The Thessalians in Armenia were not using myth crudely in order to 'assert their national glory'.[83] They were using it to explain, accommodate, and interrelate others to themselves. Through it, foreign 'others' became heirs of a shared humanity and kinship. In our own age of migrants, whom some voices present as alien or even as subhuman, the Greek view is the one which we need to remember and honour.[84]

[81] Hdt. 5.43; Malkin 1994: 192–218 for this and other charter myths.

[82] Bickerman 1952: 65–81. [83] Bosworth 1996a: 119.

[84] I am most grateful to the editors for their invitation and help. This chapter owes special debts to the work of three fine scholars, recently dead: Paul Bernard, whom I first met at Ai Khanum in 1967; Brian Bosworth, whom I first met in the Lower Reading Room of the Bodleian Library in 1970; and Adrian Hollis, whom I first met at Eton College in 1961 and who later told me of his lifelong debt to William Tarn's *The Greeks in Bactria and India* which he had bought as a schoolboy with the proceeds of an Eton prize.

10

Nostoi and Material Culture in the Area of the Classical-Hellenistic Ionian and Adriatic Seas

Catherine Morgan

The aim of this chapter is to explore insights into the practice of deploying *nostoi* to express identities and relationships that may result from bringing together three recent focuses of research. These focuses are the date and formation of the surviving epic texts; the 'materiality turn' in the study of social, and especially ritual, behaviour;[1] and regions (however construed), rather than individual communities, as shared frames of reference, with consequent questions of connectivity, mutability, shifting analytical scale, and diachronic change.[2] Discussion centres upon case studies drawn from the area of the central Ionian and Adriatic Seas[3] in the period from *c.*600 to 200 BCE (but with emphasis upon the earlier centuries).

From a literary perspective, this period is bracketed by two texts, both the subject of recent studies. In the beginning is the *Odyssey*.

[1] For a flavour of the extensive debate on the nature and archaeological application of concepts of materiality, compare Hauser 2013; Miller 2005; Pinney 2005; Dyke 2013. On materiality and Greek religion see Wallensten, Mili, and Haysom (forthcoming).

[2] Among extensive literature see e.g. Broodbank 2013, esp. chapters 10, 11; Concannon and Mazurek 2016; and on political connections, Beck and Funke 2015b.

[3] I use these names loosely as the distinction between the two was slow to emerge: Beaumont 1936: 203–4.

Martin West has recently suggested that this is the work of a single poet who was not the author of the *Iliad*, that it is free from major interpolations (other than those made by the poet himself), and that, in received form, it dates *c.*630 or slightly later.[4] West, among others, makes a compelling case for an earlier proto-Odyssey which connected and contextualized a number of previously known, more fluid episodes. Indeed, this stage seems essential if we are to make sense of developments in the visual arts (notably vase painting), in terms both of the nature and form of depictions and their narrative content.[5] A broadly seventh-century date for the gallery of 'Odyssean' stories on which epic narrative (as other developing genres) drew is helpful. It is now hardly controversial to characterize early epic as fluid. However, in its received form, the *Odyssey* is significant for its western focus, with episodes shifted west whatever their previous setting, for the newly fleshed-out role of Ithaka as Odysseus' home and destination, and for the importance of real place (a world from Sicily to Dodona with hints beyond).[6] If West is correct about the date of this final version, it would coincide with renewed colonization in the Ionian, from Leukas to Epidamnos, which linked into the established networks of well-connected communities such as Ithaka or Kerkyra, as well as expanding traffic to the north and west. We will return to this presently.

The development of the Epic Cycle through the sixth century, and its subsequent treatment,[7] is important to the present argument in two principal ways. It establishes a general context of continuing creativity, extending across genres and supported by a lively rhapsodic culture through the fifth and fourth centuries. At Dodona, for example, a small group of dedications offered by rhapsodes and musicians includes two miniature bronze tripods (respectively fifth- and fourth-/third-century in date) with inscriptions naming their dedicators as the rhapsodes Terpsikles and Klearchos.[8] The Cycle

[4] West 2014. Although not the first to advance many of these claims (especially for a seventh-century date), West's work represents the most comprehensive and fully developed treatment; for an overview of scholarship see Snodgrass 2017.

[5] Snodgrass 1998, esp. chapter 2, noting now Snodgrass 2017: 3–8; Langdon 2008: 1–16.

[6] West 2014: 98–102, 231 (see also 88–9 on the possibility that the poet was familiar with the area).

[7] West 2013: 16–26; Fantuzzi and Tsagalis 2015b.

[8] Cabanes 1988: 53, pl. 8; Piccinini 2013. Musical contests definitely formed part of the *Naia* from the early third century BCE, but while an earlier start is plausible, it cannot reliably be inferred from these dedications.

was also the source of stories set in the north-west, such as the *Thesprotis* within the *Telegony*,[9] the death of Odysseus,[10] or the growing role of Aitolian Diomedes. Western interests are obvious in the work of Stesichoros, in particular, but there is also potentially important Korinthos-related[11] epic in the lost works of Eumelos[12] and the tantalizing *Alkmeonis*, which straddled the Theban and Trojan cycles by bringing one of the Epigonoi, Alkmeon, to the north-west.[13] The *Alkmeonis* is of particular interest because, according to Strabo (one of the few sources for the subject matter of the poem), its unnamed author 'says that Ikarios, the father of Penelope, had two sons, Alyzeus and Leukadios, and that these two reigned over Akarnania with their father; accordingly Ephoros thinks that the cities were named after them' (10.2.9 = *FGrHist* 70 F 124). The clear implication is that the *Alkmeonis* contained genealogies which included the eponymous heroes of Akarnanian cities and Korinthian colonies alike—figures later depicted locally on a wide variety of objects in public or private use (as, for example, the personifications of Leukas and Korinthos on the mid-fourth-century bronze mirror cover illustrated in Figure 10.1).[14] Martin West rightly drew attention to Korinthian endeavours in the later seventh and sixth centuries to compensate for the city's minimal presence in the *Iliad*.[15] In the same vein, references in the *Alkmeonis* to Korinthos' colonial sphere in the north-west have led to the suggestion that the poem was a Korinthian composition of the Kypselid era.[16] While Korinthos-related epic gained comparatively little traction in the long term, the themes taken up by the Classical tragedians hint at more immediate impact. Both Sophocles and Euripides wrote about Alkmeon as well as other *Odyssey*- and *Telegony*-related themes (consider, for example, Sophocles' *Euryalos*).[17] According to Apollodoros (*Library* 3.7.7),[18] Euripides' *Alkmeon in Korinthos* covered *inter*

[9] West 2013: 288–306; Tsagalis 2015, esp. 399–401; Breglia 2016, reviewing previous scholarship.

[10] West 2013: 307–15.

[11] The use of Korinthos for the conventional Corinth is an editorial intervention.

[12] Debiasi 2004; 2005; 2015b (presenting a maximalist view of Eumelos' output).

[13] Debiasi 2015a; 2015b: 187–209.

[14] Louvre 1699: *IG* 9. 1^2 4. 1477; *LIMC* VI (1992) s.v. Korinthos (1) = Leukas I (1). On the mythological groundwork for the Korinthian presence in Akarnania see Jouan 1990.

[15] West 2002. [16] Debiasi 2015a: 277–80; 2015b: 203–7.

[17] For a review see Sommerstein 2015 (on the *Euryalos* see 471–2). Alkmeon: Olivieri 2013.

[18] For the surviving fragments of the play see *TrGF*, Euripides fragments 73a–77.

Fig. 10.1 Mid-fourth-century bronze mirror depicting Leukas and Korinthos, from Leukas: Musée du Louvre Br1699.

Photograph: © Musée du Louvre, AGER-documentation. Drawing after *AEph* 1873, pl. 64.

alia the treatment of Alkmeon's children in Korinthos, where they had been brought up in the royal household, and their reconciliation with Alkmeon (after which his son Amphilochos founded Argos Amphilochia). It is hardly surprising that Korinthos is presented unfavourably in Athenian tragedy given the enmity between the two cities, but the play nonetheless implicated her in a prominent *nostos* tale.

The second text, the *Alexandra* of 'Lykophron' (for which I follow Hornblower's date of *c.*190 BCE),[19] belongs to a different world. *Nostoi*, by now part of a canon of stories referenced in public and familiar discourse alike,[20] are here instrumental in an overarching political prophecy of Roman rule on land and sea. The Ionian/Adriatic geography of Lykophron may be broadly similar to that of the *Odyssey* (although Chaonia is more familiar, and there is closer detail, for example, on Arpi/Argyrippa, the seat of the Dasii),[21] but *nostoi* now play a different role within political discourse. Some figures became more useful than others. Diomedes was an important connector and/

[19] Hornblower 2015: 36–9.

[20] Among diverse evidence, consider, for example, poetic references in funerary epigrams, as *IG* 9. 1^2 4. 970 = 9. 1. 876, from the grave at Kerkyra of a father and son killed in a shipwreck, where Kerkyra is termed 'city of Nausithoos' (Nausithoos being the father of Alkinoos). A Trojan reference in a third-century epigram, likely the work of an ephebe or school pupil, is found on a wall block reused as a tomb cover in Taranto: Ferrandini Troisi 2015, cat. 107, Taranto Museum 208919. On Lykophron's debt to the Homeric epics and the Cycle see Hornblower 2015: 8–10.

[21] Hornblower 2016; and see Introduction to this volume, p. 33.

or mediator,[22] Odysseus, his close companion at Troy, ubiquitous but with baggage. Hence, perhaps, Lykophron's extensive demolition of his character in an 'Odyssey' which occupies lines 648–819 of the *Alexandra*. Odysseus failed to bring his own men home, murdered the flower of the local youth (in the suitors), and courted disaster by lying to evade the Trojan expedition and engineering the death of the man who saw through him. He alone was spared to witness his house overthrown and his wife faithless, wasting his wealth in feasts. Odysseus was too heavily implicated in the foundation of Rome to discard entirely:[23] enmity aside, he had to aid Aineias in founding cities (lines 1242–5).

Given such changes in discourse and emphasis, a central question is how in practical terms *nostoi* were invoked or deployed at different points in our long period. Epic poetry developed alongside other literary genres used to express histories, affinities, and relationships. Subjects and characters appear across genres, and the 'return' or even travel that defines a *nostos* is not always a prominent aspect of the wider repertoire of tales in which the same actors are involved. The range of practical and poetic strategies used to express community identity and relationships within multicultural spaces makes it hard to argue that *nostoi* were privileged. Straightforward kinship, for example, remained powerful. So what did *nostoi* add? One possibility is future-proofing. *Nostos* tales express hope without a guaranteed outcome (they can and do turn out spectacularly badly); they unite a desired future with a common past; and they can bridge large spatial and temporal distances.

SHAPING THE ADRIATIC

The Ionian/Adriatic region is an attractive case study by virtue of its kaleidoscope of political and/or ethnic communities which developed each in its own way and pace, variously combining into regional and subregional entities and networks, and characterized by high personal

[22] Malkin 1998a: 234–57 (and p. 234 n. 112 here below). On Diomedes at Arpi and the Adriatic 'islands of Diomedes' (also discussed below) see Braccesi 1994: 88–9 with previous bibliography; Hornblower 2015: 57–60.

[23] Malkin 1998a: 178–209.

mobility and shifting connections over time. Even by the end of our period, when on one level the Adriatic can be seen as a single, highly connected region, no power—not even Rome—was truly dominant. Moreover, the richness of the archaeological record enables us to move beyond inevitably selective historical narrative to incorporate longer processes of settlement change, trade, and economic development, and the emergence of new interstitial political entities with the power to transform sociopolitical networks.[24] And finally, we should note the quality of information about other registers of communication. The onomastic record of cities like Apollonia or Epidamnos from Archaic times onwards,[25] records of enquiries and responses from the oracle at Dodona,[26] and later the manumission records from Bouthrotos[27] contribute to a general impression that Greek and indigenous names and patronymics were freely combined from an early date. Critical locations in settlements, community territory, or on routes of communication were variously marked—for example, via cult places of numerous kinds,[28] or by elite burials ranging from increasingly elaborate chamber tombs in Apulia from the fifth century onwards[29] to tumuli at Apollonia (an indigenous but by then historical Iron Age form revived by the colonial elite).[30] In most parts of the region, therefore, regular practices of communication can be understood via the material record, permitting us to place *nostos*-related cases in context.

A brief outline of regional history and settlement development will set the scene. Late in the eighth century, Korinthos established a colony on Kerkyra, within a world of local networks which already extended across Liburnia, the central Ionian islands, across to Otranto, south to Sicily, and north into Epirus. A second wave of Korinthian and Kerkyraian settlement on the east coast followed in the late seventh century.[31] Further foundations on and around this coast from the

[24] Papadopoulos 2016 illustrates this with reference to Epirus.
[25] Variously considered by contributors to Cabanes 1993a.
[26] Curbera 2013. [27] Cabanes, Drini, and Hatzopoulos 2007: 261–6, 268.
[28] E.g. in the chora of Apollonia: Davis, Dimo, Pojani, Stocker, Lynch, Gerke, and Gorgogianni 2006, and Epidamnos: Muka, Muller, and Tartari 2014; Davis, Hoti, Pojani, Stocker, Wolpert, Acheson, and Hayes 2003: 69–70.
[29] Small 2014, 23–7. On the wider south-east Italian picture see Yntema 2013: 130–7.
[30] Amore 2010: 91–105, 693–5; Stocker and Davis 2006: 89–91.
[31] For an overview of Greek settlement in the Adriatic see e.g. Beaumont 1936; Braccesi 1977; Cabanes 2008; *IACP* 'The Adriatic' (J. Wilkes and T. Fischer Hansen). On Apollonia: Stocker and Davis 2006; Lamboley and Drini 2014.

mid sixth century onwards helped to consolidate newly structured territories and routes: one such case is the harbour town at Orikos, later a sympolity of Kerkyra on the narrowest part of the Adriatic.[32] While these colonies shared political and cultural heritage[33] and close trading links, they differed greatly in their local footprints, with important consequences for the long-term development of relationships. At Leukas, for example, the infrastructure for what grew to be the major transshipment port in the region was likely developed soon after colonization.[34] Over the following centuries this port helped to sustain a market for agricultural produce from the neighbouring islands and much of Akarnania, fostering economic interdependence over an extensive area.[35] Kerkyra, by contrast, exploited the marine environment around Butrint, but left there a relatively light material footprint until later Hellenistic times (on present evidence a sanctuary, probably of Athena Polias, and a small settlement by the acropolis).[36] The third century saw the formation of urban communities along transport routes or inland valleys (as the Aoos valley),[37] in previously marginal areas. Thus by the end of the century, the Delphic *theōrodokia* included numerous new 'Hellenes' in the Bylliones, Amantes, and other local ethne.[38]

On the opposite coast, the emergence of urban centres with organized territories and associated elites in 'Iapygian' (i.e. Messapian, Peuketian, and Daunian) territory was an essentially sixth-century phenomenon.[39] Greek imports (especially Attic pottery), plus carefully targeted local derivative products, fed the material expression of social identity (largely in funerary assemblages). Even in Messapia, where the origins of this process date back to an eighth-century expansion in Greek (principally Korinthian) trade and perhaps settlement,[40] there was a marked change in pace. Trading relationships across this part of the Adriatic remained of fundamental importance.

[32] Bereti, Consagra, Descœudres, and Shpuza 2013. [33] Roboton 2008.
[34] Pliakou 2001: 28–42. [35] Morgan 2016: 35–9, with bibliography.
[36] Greenslade, Leppard, and Logue 2013: 49–51; Hernandez 2017, noting the impact of coastline change on preservation of and access to archaeological contexts.
[37] Douzougli 1996.
[38] Plassart 1921: col. IV 31–82. On the role of the *theōria* in expressing and consolidating shared Hellenism, see Rutherford 2013: ch. 16.
[39] The evidence is synthesized by Yntema 2013: 115–48, 159–64 (noting parallel but not identical developments in the area of Greek settlement between Sybaris and Taras, 101–15, 130–48).
[40] The evidence is summarized by Yntema 2013: 47–52, 56–65.

Yet, beginning with the later fifth- and fourth-century Samnite and Lucanian invasions of Apulia, political and military pressures from both west and south created new threats, relationships, and opportunities (e.g. for mercenary service).[41] Other chapters in this volume deal directly with these parts of southern Italy,[42] so I will not dwell on them, but merely emphasize differences in the pace and nature of development on the two sides of the straits, yet their growing interdependence.[43]

Turning to Dalmatia and the northern Adriatic, Etruscan Spina and Etruscan/Enetic Adria were both (re)founded as trading stations in the late sixth century as part of a wider expansion of connections in the region.[44] They imported Greek (initially Attic) as well as Etruscan pottery and metalwork in great quantity, and in turn gave access to commodities supplied both locally and via long-distance (chiefly riverine) trade, including hemp, metals, salt, amber, and slaves. Both towns[45] rapidly formed territories, engaging with indigenous communities who were thus able to access imports. At Spina, a large grid-planned settlement, cut by canals, consisted of simply-built wooden houses and workshops constructed on piles.[46] The settlement reached a peak in the fourth century, but even the earliest sixth-century contexts were packed with imported goods—Greek and Etruscan fine table vessels (chiefly Attic, but also East Greek and Korinthian), plus a wide range of cooking and storage vessels and perhaps also associated culinary practices.[47] Epigraphic evidence reveals the diverse origins of the Greeks engaged in this trade (notably, during the fifth century, Athenians and Aiginetans, the former prominent at Spina, the latter at Adria).[48] And there is good evidence not only for local trade in Greek goods and the adoption of Greek practices, but also for the existence of a Greek population in these multi-ethnic towns (surely a minority, although how large a one remains difficult to tell).[49]

[41] Yntema 2013: 165–235.
[42] See esp. Genovese, this volume.
[43] Yntema 2013: 152–4.
[44] Berti and Guzzo 2003; D'Ercole 2002; 2007.
[45] Among other settlements such as Etruscan Marzabotto and further north, Altino: Malnati and Manfretti 1991: 117–66; Braccesi 2004.
[46] Reusser, Mohr, Cabras, Cappuccini, and Mächler 2011.
[47] Zamboni 2016.
[48] Antonaccio 2005; Baldassarra 2013; Haack 2009: 48–9; Zamboni 2016: 234–5 (mostly trade marks and numerals).
[49] Haack 2009, noting the contrast between the close incorporation of Greeks at Spina and a separate Greek quarter at Adria.

In turn, Spina independently embedded itself in the Panhellenic world via the construction of a treasury at Delphi.[50]

In the north-east, Liburnian networks extended over the Dalmatian islands and connected 'Illyria' (here a term of convenience)[51] with the northern Italian coast. In the islands, Greek colonies were established by the main harbour at modern Stari Grad on Pharos/Hvar in 385/4 (a Parian enterprise),[52] and on Issa/Vis (by the Syracusans), itself then the colonizer of Kerkyra Melaina.[53] Both were late interventions at sites which had developed through the fifth century as trading points within long-standing native settlement systems. Indeed, at Hvar, evidence for much earlier (eighth- to sixth-century) trade with the Ionian region includes Apulian Geometric pottery, sometimes found with amber and central European metalwork.[54] Acquisition of the kind of imports which flowed up to Adria and Spina was a logical continuation of this activity. Greek pottery, along with a variety of trade goods, is found not only on Pharos and Issa, but far into the hinterland beyond the Dalmatian coast, raising wider questions of the long-term social impact of competition for access to trade.[55] Complementing the vitality of local and long-distance trade and communication, the resources of the Dalmatian islands must themselves have been attractive.[56] In addition to agricultural produce, they include materials such as bitumen and stone from Brač.[57] The archaeological record indicates a negotiated consolidation of connections with an already powerful network, fitting Diodoros' description of the first colonial foundations as initially peaceful. Conflict between settlers and native populations soon arose, however, and was quickly suppressed in 384 BCE by the governor of Issa ('Lissos') appointed by Dionysios I, tyrant of Syracuse (Diod. 15.14.2).

[50] Naso 2013. [51] Dzino 2012: 72. [52] Kirigin 2006: 48–69.

[53] For a review of the archaeology of Vis see Gaffney and Kirigin 2006: 9–83. On the foundation decree of Kerkyra Melaina (*Syll.*[3] 141, *c.*350–250 BCE): Cahill 2002: 219–21; Radić and Bass 2002 summarize archaeological research.

[54] Gaffney, Čače, Hayes, Kirigin, Leach, and Vujnović 2002; Katić 1999; Kirigin 2006: 115–17; Gaffney, Kirigin, Petrić, and Vujnović 1997 provide the fullest account of the archaeology of Hvar.

[55] Dzino 2012, emphasizing 400 BCE as a turning point in the development of societies deep in the Dalmatian hinterland, too.

[56] Zaninović 2004.

[57] Brać: Stančič, Vujnović, Kirigin, Čače, Podobnikar, and Burmaz 1999: 4–5, 9–11. On the potential of Salona as a mainland hub: Kirigin 2016.

This review can only give a tiny flavour of a complex world, but it serves to set the scene for the case studies which follow. As noted, this chapter is concerned with materiality—that is, the association of *nostos* tales with material objects implicated in particular forms of behaviour—rather than the mere existence of a story. Objects so invested embodied ideas, and their use helped to shape and reinforce patterns of thought. It is true that scenes involving characters who were important actors in *nostos* stories formed part of the repertoire of myths depicted on objects created and variously used in local assemblages in different parts of the Ionian/Adriatic. Fourth-century western Greek (especially Apulian and Lucanian) red-figure vases are a case in point. Initially drawing on Attic models, locally produced red-figure came to feature scenes which included tales involving *nostoi*. In this case, tragic and comic theatre was surely one important source of inspiration for painter and patron alike, and a significant number of depictions included theatrical traits.[58] Apulian vases were made for a variety of local markets, Peuketian and Messapian as well as Greek, and in most cases were deposited in tombs. The meaning(s) communicated by the imagery in context, notably in terms of the status of the deceased, was probably locally specific.[59] This is a distinctive phenomenon: not every region with a Greek population (of whatever size), a performance culture, and a local red-figure vase production favoured mythological depictions or even complex figure iconography.[60] And in the northern Adriatic, where imported red-figure was extremely popular (largely Attic rather than western Greek), vessel shape seems to have been more influential than iconography in the creation of assemblages indicative of individual status and identity.[61]

In short, while *nostos* stories and/or their protagonists appear in the local material record of several parts of the Adriatic/Ionian region,

[58] Taplin 2007, esp. ch. 5, with specific examples including the *Telephos* (pp. 205–10) and a non-Euripidean *Rhesos* (pp. 160–5). On the performance of Greek tragedy in both Greek and Italic settlements in Apulia see Taplin 2007: 9–13, 26–8; Carpenter 2014. By contrast, Giuliani 2001 (esp. 33–7) sees texts and their expert interpretation as the real source of knowledge and inspiration; yet while these must surely be taken into account, it is hard to see them as the sole factor.

[59] Variously explored by contributors to Carpenter, Lynch, and Robinson 2014.

[60] The red-figure of Ambrakia is such a negative case: Aggeli 2014.

[61] On Spina and Adria, see Denoyelle 2013; D'Ercole 2007 comments on shapes and images emblematic of specific festivals or life activities rather than on mythology per se; Giudice 2004; Zamboni 2016: 98–120.

there is no convincing evidence that the distinctive qualities of such tales, discussed above, were regularly exploited or that they were perceived as qualitatively different from other iconographic themes which embodied and conveyed social meanings.

There are, of course, important exceptions, especially in the latter part of our period. These are chiefly artefacts linked to specific cults which had been established to connect cities or regions, and/or to express power relations. According to Dionysios of Halikarnassos (*Ant. Rom.* 1.50.3–4), in their flight from Troy, Aineias and his Trojan companions founded temples to Aphrodite Aineias in Ambrakia, Aktion, Leukas, and Zakynthos (on the last, see further below). As Milena Melfi has observed,[62] the initial diffusion of representations of the Trojan myth of Aphrodite in areas under Molossian control early in the Hellenistic period (under King Pyrrhos) likely built on the previous popularity of local Aphrodite cults, but the Trojan characteristics grafted on spoke directly to the pedigree of the Molossian kings, and thereafter to the growing power of Rome.[63] By the second century, this helps to explain two commissions fulfilled by the sculptor Damophon of Messene, for the renovation of the cult statue in the sanctuary of Aphrodite Limenarchis at Leukas (tentatively equated by Melfi with the sanctuary of Aphrodite Aineias), and for unspecified work at Kranioi on Kephallonia after which Damophon was rewarded with a grant of proxeny (Melfi persuasively suggests a statue of Zeus Aine(s)ios).

Our aim in this chapter is slightly different—to locate objects or assemblages which specifically invoke *nostoi*, with all their attendant qualities, as part of their behavioural contexts, located in time and space. It therefore makes greater sense to focus on the challenge of these wider relationships in order to pinpoint the 'added value' of *nostoi*, and to tease out its application within multiple layers of communication. This also has the advantage of moving beyond the usual questions asked of the archaeological record in discussions of epic, seeking corroboration of a particular point in a text, identifying an image, or deciding whether a particular place or period is a plausible

[62] Melfi 2016, noting also in our region Damophon's statue of Asklepios for Butrint, centre of the newly created koinon of the Prasaiboi under Roman protection. Lima 2013 assesses early Butrint in the light of Trojan traditions.

[63] Wallensten 2010.

setting for the societies depicted. Such not so innocent questions have the potential to distort our approach to material culture.

A CIVIC MEMORIAL

The first case study, a civic memorial, consists of two monuments dedicated by the citizens of Apollonia, one at Olympia in the second half of the fifth century, the other in the city centre somewhat later. The surviving physical remains are slight (Figure 10.2): at Olympia, two fragments of an inscribed semicircular base in Parian marble,[64] and at Apollonia, a block from a base inscribed with the name Aineias[65] and part of an Ionic frieze in local limestone with a combat scene (perhaps an amazonomachy).[66] The case for associating the two monuments is circumstantial but strong. Pausanias (5.22.2–4) describes the iconography of the Olympia monument and quotes the inscription on its base, which records it as a dedication of the Apollonians in commemoration of an (otherwise unreported) victory over Thronion in Abantis (a *polisma* of which nothing more is known), erected using a *dekatē* (or tithe) of the spoils. This is probably not the only Apollonian victory dedication at Olympia. A Chalkidian helmet of *c.*480 has a partly preserved inscription in which just the name 'Apolloniates' can be read,[67] and it is likely, albeit not certain, that this refers to Illyrian Apollonia. References in the epigraphic record of the east-coast cities to otherwise undocumented hostilities of all kinds, from outright battle to occasional violence, suggest that conflict was more common than we sometimes infer from historical narratives. Examples include the funerary epigrams on stelai (variously dated *c.*550–500 BCE) found in excavation of the

[64] Kunze 1956; Siewert and Taeuber 2013: 89–91, cat. 34. For discussion see Barringer 2009: 231–5; Castiglioni 2003.

[65] Praschniker 1922–4: 189–90, no. 3; Cabanes 1993b: 146–8 (proposing a fourth-century date on epigraphic grounds); Castiglioni 2003: 880.

[66] National Archaeological Museum, Tirana 133: Pojani 2006: 155–7 with previous bibliography.

[67] Siewert and Taeuber 2013: 188, cat. 155.

Fig. 10.2 Inscription from the base of the monument of the Apollonians at Olympia.

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city polyandrion-cenotaph in Ambrakia,[68] and the grave stele of Arniadas, who died in a naval battle on the river Arachthos in Epirus and was buried in Kerkyra in *c.*600 BCE.[69] However, the Apollonians' commemoration of their victory over Thronion was unusually lavish.

The Apollonian dedications form part of a distinctive collection of late Archaic or early Classical statue groups offered at Panhellenic sanctuaries (Delphi, in particular) which are generally paired with dedications in the home city.[70] Most commemorated military victories and in many cases their visual imagery drew on epic. Examples from mainland Greece include the Argive groups of the Epigonoi from Delphi and Argos.[71] Such monuments were not confined to Greek communities: a Tarentine dedication at Delphi, marking a

[68] *SEG* 41. 540; Bousquet 1992: 596–606; Matthaiou 1990–91.

[69] *IG* 9. 1^2 4. 880 = *IG* 9. 1. 868; *CEG* 145; Tod no. 2.

[70] Ioakimidou 1997 reviews the evidence (for Apollonia, see 92–8, cats 16 and 17); Barringer 2009 explores the prominence of victory dedications in the fifth-century Altis at Olympia.

[71] Ioakimidou 1997: 87–92, cats 14 and 15.

victory over the Peuketioi, depicted the heroes Taras and Phalanthos over the body of the mythical Iapygian king Opis.[72] In making their dedications, the Apollonians were therefore following established Panhellenic norms, with associated expectations about how their monument would be viewed. According to Pausanias, the sculptor of the Olympia monument was the Athenian Lykios, son of Myron, and if correct this fits a general preference for big international names and provides a further clue to the monument's date.[73] Yet the choice of iconography was unusually challenging, and as a result the composition has attracted considerable discussion. From the outset, I note that even though the fragmentary state of the evidence imposes severe limitations, the fact that no single reading appears entirely satisfactory is surely significant.

Pausanias (5.22.2) describes the Olympia monument as having a central group of Zeus, Thetis, and Hemera flanked by Greek and Trojan heroes—Achilles and Memnon, Odysseus and Helenos, Menelaos and Paris, Diomedes and Aineias, Aias and Deiphobos. While one might assume that he reads from left to right while facing the monument,[74] he does not state this explicitly nor does he offer any interpretation of the pairings or their relationship to Zeus, merely describing them as Greeks versus barbarians. While this is commonly taken to imply that Greeks were placed to one side and Trojans to the other, this, too, is a plausible but not inevitable reading of the text.[75] If it is correct, one might reasonably expect the position of the victors and vanquished in the Trojan War to have followed the visual logic then current in relief sculpture, whereby victors in combat scenes moved from left to right: this would have matched the expectations of a viewer in a Panhellenic

[72] Ioakimidou 1997: 77–82, cat. 12.

[73] Jeffery 1980. Lykios is associated with two or three dedications on the Athenian acropolis: *IG* 1^3 511 records him as maker of a statue group dedicated by the *hippeis*; Pausanias (1.23.7) attributes to him a bronze boy holding a perirrhanterion; and in *IG* I^2 537 his name is tentatively restored on the base of an unidentified statue (possibly, but not provably, the bronze boy). Castiglioni 2003: 872, Jeffery 1980, and Hurwit 1999: 147 n. 55 suggest (on epigraphic and historical grounds) that Lykios was likely to have been active in the 440s and 430s.

[74] Thus Lamboley 2005: 15–16.

[75] Piccinini 2011: 241, 243, with previous discussion.

context like Olympia. At first sight, therefore, this monument seems to be a straightforward celebration of a Greek victory cast in epic terms. Yet Pausanias (5.22.3–4) gives Thronion and the Abantes Greek founders, too (respectively Lokrians and Euboians who had become scattered on their return from Troy). Would vanquished Greeks have been depicted in these terms?

Zeus, the central figure in the Olympia monument, was neutral in the Trojan War. But, as Pierre Cabanes has argued,[76] we must factor in the 'absent presence' of Apollo, the patron deity of Apollonia, who took the side of the Trojans against the Greeks. Both on grounds of iconography (where Cabanes draws a parallel with the east frieze of the Siphnian treasury at Delphi, on which Trojan-supporting deities were placed on the favoured right side of Zeus) and the interests of Apollo, he suggested that the Apollonians here identified themselves as the new Trojans, matched directly with Achaian heroes. The pairing of heroes, however, represents not active conflict but reconciliation after the victory. Cabanes' overall conclusion about the importance of Trojans has gained considerable support, despite criticism of individual aspects of his case (iconographic readings, in particular),[77] but it has not been accepted unanimously. Among objections, we may note Jean-Luc Lamboley's argument that the quintessentially colonial Apollo *archēgetēs* should protect and represent Greeks—in turn fitting his reconstruction of the position of the Achaian heroes on the monument.[78]

This disagreement need not be an impasse. In a recent review of the arguments, Claudia Antonetti concludes that the monument represents a sophisticated layering of visual/epic and historical expectations and potential alternative readings, with emphasis upon inclusion rather than opposition and conflict.[79] The power of Apollo lay precisely in his role in a rich range of myths central to the identity of Apollonia and of the city's regional peers (be they allies or enemies). Thus the iconography of the Olympia monument might imply post-conflict reconciliation, but it could also be a straightforward statement of the power of the city (under which the territory of Thronion now lay), or a yet more subtle placing of Apollonia in

[76] Cabanes 1993b: 145–50.

[77] E.g. Malkin 2001: 191–4; Pojani 2006: 157; Stocker and Davis 2006: 91–2. For an overview of the arguments see Piccinini 2011.

[78] Lamboley 2005: 15–18.

[79] Antonetti 2007: 96–106; 2010.

its wider regional context. The antiquity of Thronion's Lokrian and Euboian pedigree to which Pausanias refers is unknown.[80] But if Thronion's myth history as locally understood in the mid fifth century in any way implicated Greek *nostoi*, the question of how Apollonia's supremacy could best be underlined in epic terms would become more complicated. Furthermore, as commonly observed, by this time Trojan *nostoi* were central to the myths of origin of a number of peoples and communities in the region, including Molossians and Chaonians with whom Apollonians were in close contact.[81] Thereafter, Trojan histories become ever more salient, especially with the rise of Roman power, to the extent that an old Greek settlement such as Bouthrotos, established from Kerkyra, could acquire a new Trojan founder tradition.[82] The iconography of the Olympia monument thus served Apollonian interests on all levels and in a way likely to accommodate future relationships: it combined a potent mythological expression of civic power with the capacity to engage observers from a diverse range of communities, whether their myth histories were old colonial or *nostos*-related, and their heroes Achaian or Trojan.[83] This distinctive public use of *nostoi* enabled the Apollonians to position themselves as a powerful, victorious community within a distinctive nexus of local and regional identities, and to do so in a way that exploited the capacity of *nostos* tales to 'future-proof'.

DIPLOMACY BETWEEN COMMUNITIES

A second case concerns formal intercommunity relations. A late-fourth- or more probably early-third-century inscribed bronze plaque (Athens, National Museum, Carapanos Collection 803) was sent to Dodona by a Zakynthian, Agathon son of Echepylos, perhaps on the

[80] Bereti, Consagra, Descœudres, and Shpuza 2013; Morgan 1998: esp. 299–301, both noting the wider question of the rise of generalized 'Euboian' pedigrees during the Classical period.

[81] Lamboley and Castiglioni 2011, with previous bibliography.

[82] Hernandez 2017: 210–12.

[83] For analogous reflections see Piccinini 2011: 243–5, who, following the tradition that Apollonia was a joint Korinthian and Kerkyraian foundation, also argues that the iconography positioned the city in relation to its two warring mother cities.

Fig. 10.3 Bronze inscription from Dodona. Athens, National Museum, Carapanos Collection 803.

© National Archaeological Museum, Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports: Archaeological Receipts Fund.

renewal of a hereditary proxeny (Figure 10.3).[84] Described in the text as a *dōron* ('gift') rather than a dedication placed in person, it was

[84] *IG* 9.1^2 4.1750. Fraser 2003 placed it in the late fourth century, while Meyer 2013: 73–4, restates the case for an early-third-century date.

surely sent as a diplomatic gift. At first sight, this seems a straightforward matter. The sanctuary and oracle at Dodona, and Zeus Naios or Dodonaios, were regularly invoked in articulating relations between communities and individuals across the region. Odysseus claimed to have consulted the oracle in one of his lying tales (*Od.* 14.327–30), and especially after the expansion of the shrine and festival from the fourth century onwards, the sanctuary formed part of a wider supraregional network.[85] The institution of proxeny was widespread, and probably hereditary, at least by the mid fifth century.[86] In the north-west, it is particularly well attested at Kerkyra: monuments of various kinds erected by or for proxenoi begin with the early-sixth-century gravestone of Menekrates of Oiantheia, proxenos of the Kerkyraians, who died in that city.[87] Yet our plaque, in text and form, is a very unusual proxeny document,[88] and (with all due caution, given the selective nature of proxeny inscriptions) it is also the earliest Zakynthian record.[89] The inscription reads: 'Agathon, the son of Echepylos, and his offspring, proxenoi of the Molossians and their allies throughout thirty generations from Troy, the race of Kassandra, Zakynthians.'

In the study of the dedication which includes the translation above, Fraser emphasized the deliberate ambiguity of the text, terming the piece a *grīphos* ('riddle').[90] As he noted, the dedication begins with an invocation of Zeus *Dōdōnēs medeōn* which recalls Achilles' address to Zeus at *Il.* 16.233–5. Three occurrences of *geneā* in ten short lines play on the word's various meanings—linear descent, ethnicity with no sense of descent, or descent in the chronological sense of 'a generation'. The phallus ornament works with this to convey family continuity, past, present, and future. The proxeny relationship is articulated via the prophetess Kassandra: while it has been suggested that this recalls a Molossian tradition according to which Kassandra was the first priestess at Dodona, this tradition is largely inferred from

[85] Quantin 2008.

[86] Fraser 2003: 34; Mack 2015: e.g. 1–3, with 22–89 on the nature of the institution.

[87] *IG* 9. 1^2 4. 882 = *IG* 9. 1. 867; ML 4; *CEG* 143.

[88] Mack 2015: 9–13 (10 n. 23 places ANM 803 in the context of dedications made by proxenoi).

[89] On the nature of the record in general see Mack 2015: 13–17. The Zakynthian network can be traced via Proxeny Networks of the Ancient World (http://proxenies.csad.ox.ac.uk).

[90] Fraser 2003: 28–33, 38–40.

our inscription, presenting a risk of circular argument.[91] By the early third century, Dodona was under Molossian control: indeed, it is likely that from the late fifth or early fourth century, the Molossian kingdom had oversight of the sanctuary via some form of religious amphictyony.[92] We can only guess at the antiquity of a hereditary proxeny and the exact relations involved. It is, however, striking to see in our inscription the mythical past so bound into future promise, raising the question of whether something about this particular relationship required extra support.

The epigraphic and votive record at Dodona includes a number of idiosyncratic pieces in all genres, and one might expect a plaque such as ours to have become implicated in local tradition or biography.[93] It potentially speaks to Agathon's Zakynthian circle as well as to Dodona, yet Zakynthian ties are not straightforward. Zakynthian *polis* identity (reflected in the city's coinage)[94] at that time centred on Apollo as patron deity, but his absence from the Dodona inscription is not surprising given his hostile relationship with Kassandra. Thucydides (2.66.1) describes Zakynthos as an Achaian colony: Trojan links appear only later, being securely attested in late Republican times. As we have seen, Dionysios of Halikarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.50.3)[95] had Aineias and his companions visit the island en route from Troy and establish a sanctuary of Aphrodite and games in her honour (the eponymous Zakynthos is here a son of Dardanos). Virgil (*A*. 3.270–9) then moved the entire story to the newly founded Nikopolis (with the *Aktia* as the festival celebrated), while Pausanias (8.24.3) gave Zakynthos an alternative Arkadian pedigree. It is a leap to push the Trojan story back as far as the early Hellenistic period, at least at *polis* level. But Fraser raises the interesting alternative possibility of distinctive family descent with a social cachet akin to that of Trojan descent in Rome, noting that the dedicator's name, Agathon, was also that of Kassandra's brother mentioned just once in the *Iliad* (24.249).[96]

[91] Fraser 2003: 31 (commenting on Dakaris 1964: 102–14).

[92] I follow here Elizabeth Meyer's reading (Meyer 2012) of the key inscription *SEG* 15.384; see also Meyer 2015: 301–10.

[93] Dieterle 2003 offers an overview of the votive record.

[94] Kraay 1976: 96.

[95] As Fraser 2003: 35 points out (with reference to previous discussion), Dionysios may have drawn on Varro (noting echoes in *Rust.* 2, preface, para. 6).

[96] Fraser 2003: 36. [See also Fragoulaki 2013: 251–61, 176: S. H.]

We are on firmer ground in questioning the strength of Zakynthian ties to Dodona. A broad picture of the sanctuary's geographical reach is provided by the published sample (over 4,200) of the lead inscriptions left as souvenirs of oracular consultations from the fifth to the third centuries BCE.[97] While the information provided is inconsistent (and the reading of many texts uncertain), for the purposes of the present argument general trends suffice. Public consultations, all local, form less than one per cent of the published material.[98] Just one instance (a rare question and response on the same tablet) shows recourse to myth history: the answer to a question posed by Alexander I Molossos, 'Troy overwhelmed Alexander,' may prefigure his death in Italy.[99] The overwhelming majority were private consultations by men, women, and slaves. A combination of epichoric scripts, place names, and personal names (rarely with ethnics) allows us to reconstruct a primarily north-western/southern Italian world of consultors, also reaching east into Thessaly and central Greece.[100] The interests of these people as represented in their enquiries naturally extended more widely.[101] Akarnanian coastal sites appear,[102] and there is close coverage of Kerkyra and of both shores of the Ionian/Adriatic from Aktion north. But with rare exceptions concerning Kephallonia,[103] the central Ionian islands have not been identified in the record. Dedications from islanders are equally few—a *phialē* offered to Zeus by Philokleidas son of Damophilos from Leukas at some point +in the third century[104] and a bronze band dedicated by the citizens of Pale (likely Pale on Kephallonia) in the late fourth or third century.[105] It therefore seems that the islands were neither an 'international' presence nor closely linked to the sanctuary's world.

[97] Parker 2016; see also *SEG* 63.406.

[98] Principally Dakaris, Votokopoulou, and Christidis 2013; Lhôte 2006.

[99] Dakaris, Votokopoulou, and Christidis 2013: 41–2, with extensive previous bibliography.

[100] Piccinini 2017 discusses evidence which predates the mid fourth century.

[101] For example, Dakaris, Votokopoulou, and Christidis 2013: 3899A is a late-fourth-century private enquiry concerning relocation to the Bosphoran kingdom.

[102] E.g. Dakaris, Votokopoulou, and Christidis 2013: 1861 (Alyzeia), 2086 (Astakos).

[103] Dakaris, Votokopoulou, and Christidis 2013: 4072 (late fifth or early fourth century) concerning travel to Same, and perhaps 1208B (first half of the fourth century) where the connection is onomastic.

[104] Dieterle 2007: 88, Athens National Museum, Carapanos Collection 441.

[105] Dieterle 2007: 91, Athens National Museum, Carapanos Collection 1247.

Zakynthos lies so far south that it was socially marginal even for its northern neighbours. Zakynthian wives buried at Hellenistic Leukas are identified by their city ethnics,[106] and in the third-century Delphic *theōrodokia* list Zakynthos appears on a Peloponnesian route which extends only as far north as Kephallonia.[107] The poverty of the surviving Zakynthian epigraphic record is a handicap in reconstructing its external relations, but the available evidence suggests that it was marginal to Dodona. It is therefore legitimate to consider how securely founded Agathon's proxeny really was, and whether this was a case where special pleading (and future-proofing) was required.

NOSTOI AND NAVIGATION

The third case study concerns maritime space. On the remote islet of Velo Palagruža, the largest in the small archipelago of Palagruža which lies almost in the centre of the Adriatic, west of Vis/Issa, a shrine to Diomedes was established late in the sixth century.[108] A deepwater fishing base had operated here in prehistoric times, but thereafter the islet remained abandoned for many centuries. Palagruža is a true maritime location, visible from the sea but not from land, and then only within a radius of *c.*25 nautical miles at best. It is a local landmark for navigation, but also a vantage point from which to observe shipping and weather conditions. The island appears not to have been a stopping point during the Iron Age, even though there is substantial material evidence of trade across the Adriatic during this period, and it cannot have been an attractive place to settle, not least since it lacks fresh water. The establishment of a shrine on the vantage point of Salamandrija must therefore be understood in the context of changing patterns of trade, with the establishment of Adria and Spina, followed by Greek colonization in the central Dalmatian islands. In Archaic and Classical times, the pottery dedicated was almost entirely Attic, matching the wares traded, and at least one of the personal names attested (that of the

[106] Morgan 2016: 32. [107] Plassart 1921: col. II 145.

[108] Kirigin and Čače 1998; Kirigin, Johnston, Vučetić, and Lušić 2009; Kirigin, Miše, and Barbarić 2010.

Aiginetan Soleios) is also found at Adria.[109] In the Dalmatian islands, not only was there substantial precolonial import, as we have seen, but references to trading and settlement on Pharos occur in the oracular record at Dodona from the second half of the fifth century. The (re)configuration of Greek trade links via Spina, Adria, and the Dalmatian islands demanded regular navigation up the difficult and unpredictable Adriatic—hence this central shrine, located between the main north–south open sea routes (Figure 10.4).[110]

Graffiti (mostly dedicatory) have been found on over two hundred sherds from the late sixth century onwards, generally expressing a desire for safe passage and often using a formula (echoed elsewhere) 'for x plus fellow sailors'. A number name Diomedes as the recipient of these prayers (Figure 10.5). The scripts, and on occasion specific reference to the dedicator's *polis*, indicate wide-ranging involvement from Aiginetans, Athenians, Samians, and Chiots among others. The sanctuary grew in popularity into the third century, by which time significant shipwreck evidence confirms the intensity of trade crossing the area.[111] It is sometimes argued that the *nostos* of Diomedes was used as a metaphor or even a justification for Greek expansion into the Adriatic.[112] Yet this area was hardly an unknown 'wild' west by the later sixth or fifth century, and there is no evidence for any straightforward link of the kind assumed.[113] The epigraphic records of both Spina and Adria include dedications to Greek deities, notably Apollo, Dionysos, and Hermes, all of whom are associated with travel, and it seems that Diomedes was specifically selected for this essential but isolated small island. This *nostos* should therefore be understood in the more specific context of a reconfiguration and expansion of trading contacts, and as a means of approaching one distinctive kind of space. This in turn leads us to explore the partially overlapping practices evident at maritime shrines elsewhere in the region in order to understand how a new cult place at Palagruža may have connected with mariners' wider experience.

[109] Kirigin, Johnston, Vučetić, and Lušić 2009: 141; Antonaccio 2005: 139; Johnston 2000: 25, 27–8.

[110] Kirigin, Johnston, Vučetić, and Lušić 2009: 143–52.

[111] Kirigin, Johnston, Vučetić, and Lušić 2009: 138, 145 (with bibliography).

[112] E.g. Braccesi 1977: 14–18, 57–63; 1994: 85–110, both citing previous bibliography representing different views of the specific Greek influences at work. Contra Malkin 1998: 247–9.

[113] Kirigin and Čače 1998: 70–1 summarize the sources.

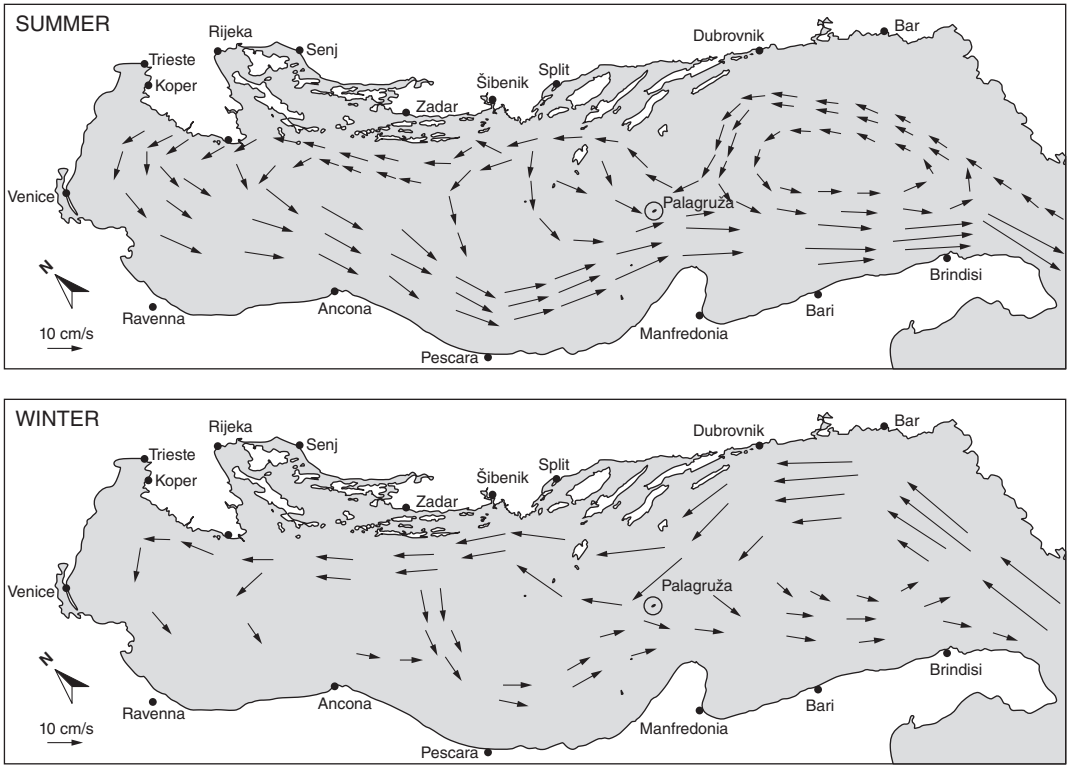


Fig. 10.4 Surface currents in the Adriatic.

After Kirigin, Johnston, Vučetić, and Lušić 2009, fig. 5, reproduced by courtesy of Branko Kirigin.

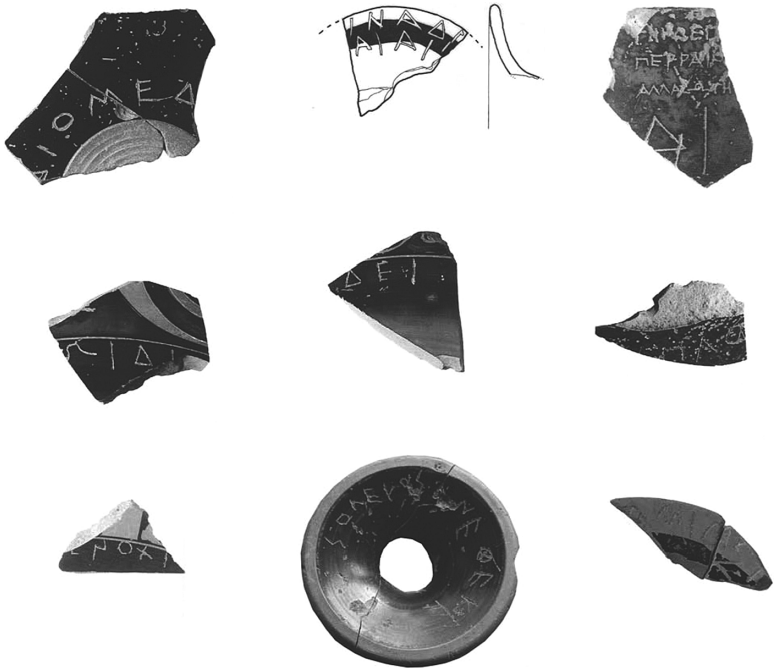


Fig. 10.5 Graffiti from Palagruža including a dedication to Diomedes (not to scale).

© Branko Kirigin.

Two cases illustrate the point. On the east coast, the bay of Grammata in the Akrokeraunian mountains south of Orikos was both the site of substantial stone quarries operative probably from the sixth century BCE, and a rare refuge for sailors among otherwise sheer cliffs. While there is no evidence for an organized cult site, the rock faces display a large number of rupestral inscriptions made by sailors praying for the protection of the Dioskouroi.[114] The unique formula consistently used, *emnēsthē para tois Dioskorois* followed by names in the genitive, indicates a place-specific, but presumably widely-known, practice. As at Palagruža, prayers may commend companions—comrades in arms, slaves, or freedmen—a relative, or the whole *oikos*. The surviving inscriptions at Grammata begin in the third century BCE, and although this date cannot be relied upon absolutely,

[114] Hadjari, Reboton, Shpuza, and Cabanes 2007; *SEG* 57.561.

given the possibility that earlier evidence was lost to quarrying, it does coincide with a significant intensification of mobility across the Adriatic in general. There are some points of comparison with the second case, the shrines on the west coast in the caves of Porcinara at Cape Santa Maria Leuca, of San Cristoforo and Poesia at Roca Vecchia, and Sant'Andrea di Roca.[115] Votive inscriptions on vases, including some in Greek, are most commonly found from the fourth century onwards, but there are earlier instances,[116] and, at least at Porcinara, cult likely dates back to the sixth. Rupestrals are generally later, although here, too, the best-preserved cave, Poesia, has them from the beginning. The chronology of the introduction of different phenomena reflects to a large extent preservation, accessibility, and research. These caves all lie along the coast from Leuca to Brindisi, at the end of the most straightforward routes across the straits. Maritime interests are plain: anchors are among the earliest dedications at Porcinara, for example. But unlike Grammata, which is difficult to access by land, these shrines also served often scattered local communities, and both script and onomastics suggest extensive catchments. Deities assimilated Messapian, Latin, and Greek personae (Zis/Zeus/Jupiter Batios, for example), but we do not find heroes or *nostoi*. In maritime terms, these caves are the counterparts of Grammata, but they also fit a wider Ionian pattern of cave shrines located on passages from land to sea, uplands to lowlands (on which see further below).

In short, while the existence of the Palagruža shrine is easy to understand, the choice of cult requires a fuller consideration of how maritime interests could be expressed. Uniquely, Palagruža was a landmark, not a destination, a place linked to future hopes and plans, essential to voyagers but of no wider relevance to regional settlement.

A RETURNING HERO AND HIS *POLIS*

The island of Ithaka holds a special place in the archaeology of *nostoi*. Over a century of scholarship has approached the material record of

[115] The evidence is summarized by Pagliara 1991. On the initial date of cult in the Porcinara Cave see Ferrandini Troisi 2015: 81.

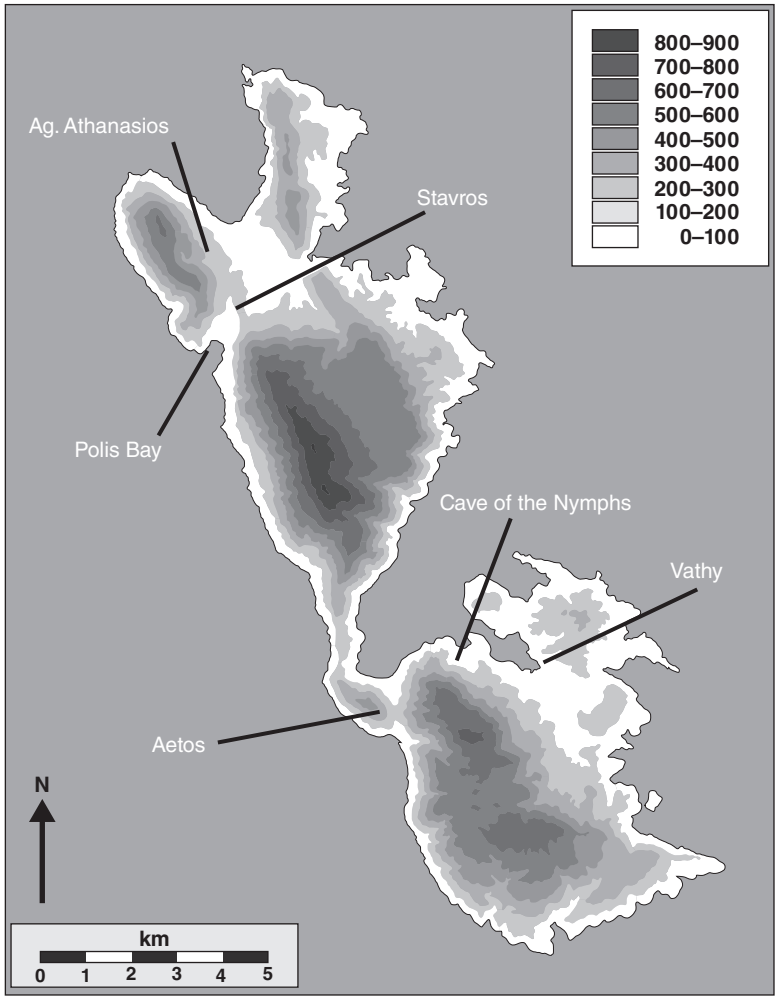
[116] Porcinara Cave: Ferrandini Troisi 2015: 79–81, noting cats 83 (Korinthian kotyle, mid sixth century, likely a personal name in colonial Greek script), 84 (Attic krater, first quarter fifth century), and 85 (local krater, mid fifth century, name of local deity(?) *Βάτις*).

the island in 'Homeric' terms, yet this narrow focus is something of a handicap when trying to understand the utility of Odysseus to the *polis* of the Ithakesians.[117] We will therefore begin from the rather different perspective of Mediterranean island studies, noting the widely-observed impact on the development of small islands like Ithaka of proximity to larger neighbours such as Kephallonia and Leukas. Small islands in this position may shift often quite dramatically between phases of abandonment or 'exported population' and intense exploitation supported by external markets.[118] While the situation of Ithaka (in terms of comparative size and resources) is not as extreme as that of, for example, Antikythera in relation to Kythera, the pattern of responses to changing external circumstances is broadly similar.

Throughout the Early Iron Age, present evidence suggests that settlement focused on one major centre, Aetos, which had strong and diverse overseas connections.[119] The switch to steady settlement expansion into most cultivable areas more or less coincides with Martin West's date for the Q Poet's *Odyssey* and the second phase of Ionian colonization in the later seventh century. By the fourth century, survey in the north of the island shows intense exploitation of the landscape, with major settlement centres in both north (Stavros and, subsequently, Agios Athanasios) and south (Aetos and Vathy), and connections with the powerful market of Leukas to the north-east, and to the west Kephallonia and the rich and expanding *polis* of Same.[120] The growth of these different settlement centres reflects the physical separation of the main land masses on the island (Map 10.1), and could easily have resulted in the development of two small *poleis*. It did not, however: only one *polis*, that of the Ithakesians, is attested on Ithaka.[121]

Under such circumstances, there must have been clear advantages to a *polis* constitution rooted in common island heritage. Ithaka's place in the *Odyssey* was its most conspicuous and unique feature, making this the obvious way to express an identity that was both

[117] Steinhart and Wirbelauer 2002; Waterhouse 1996; Livitsanis 2013: 96–7.
[118] Bevan and Conolly 2013: 1–11.
[119] Morgan 2011; Livitsanis 2013: 102–6, 115–20; Symeonoglou 2002. Kephallonia: Sotiriou 2013: 6–45.
[120] Morgan 2007 (with previous bibliography).
[121] *IACP* no. 122, Ithaka (H-J. Gehrke and E. Wirbelauer); Morgan 2007: 74–5.



Map 10.1 Ithaka.

© Author. Map by Christopher Hayward.

distinctive and connected to wider local/regional aspirations implied via Odysseus' role in the cyclical stories. Aristotle paid greater attention to the constitution of the Ithakesians than one might perhaps expect for such a small island. The surviving fragments of his account indicate social practices and family identities rooted in the aftermath of Odysseus' return, i.e. in the later-seventh- or early-sixth-century

Fig. 10.6 Ithakesian coin depicting Odysseus. British Museum Cat. 1866,1201.3198.

© The British Museum.

epic cycle.[122] The ruling family was descended from Telemachos, two clans, the Boukolidai and Koliadai, claimed descent from Philoitios and a newly freed Eumaios respectively, and an annual tribute in kind (of barley, wine, honeycombs, olive oil, salt, and beasts for sacrifice) recalls expiation paid by the companions and relatives of the suitors to Telemachos (*vice* Odysseus). While the constitution itself can be dated only via the *terminus post quem* of its epic allusions, the earliest Ithakesian coinage, which uniquely depicted Odysseus, is fourth-century (Figure 10.6).[123]

The same appeal to identity is found in the Ithakesian response to the late-third- or early-second-century request from Magnesia on the Maeander to recognize its festival of Artemis Leukophryene.[124] The Ithakesians granted to the Magnesians *proedria* at the *Odysseia* (presumably a local festival) and 'to the goddess' an *eparchē* in local drachmae. The inscription was to be set up in the Odysseion and the sanctuary of Athena. The location of the Odysseion is unknown, but while direct evidence for its nature is lacking, the *Odysseia* festival is surely best considered with the numerous state festivals founded or renewed at this time across the Greek world (including, in this

[122] See especially Arist. *Constitution of the Ithakesians* (fr. 507 Rose) = Plut. *QG* 14.
[123] Head 1911: 428. [124] Kern 1900: cat. 36.

area, the *Dionysia* on Kerkyra, the *Thermika* at Thermon, the *Akartia* founded by the Akarnanian League, and the *Naia* at Dodona, potentially the earliest of all and with the greatest reach).[125] When compared with the seventy surviving responses of those displayed in the Agora of Magnesia,[126] the Ithakesian provisions are all familiar, although as an ensemble they appear lavish. The closest parallel is found in the response of the neighbouring Kephallonian tetrapolis (led by Same),[127] which offered *proedria* at the Dionysia and the sacrifice and games of Kephalos (the one hero common to all four *poleis* on the island). This decree ends by providing for its local display and writing into law and for the escorting of the ambassadors on to the Ithakesians,[128] making clear the local power play between neighbours.

Explicit reference to Odysseus in the material record of Ithaka during our period is found only at a sanctuary in a rock shelter in Polis Bay (the so-called Polis Cave). The name occurs just once, in a prayer to Odysseus[129] inscribed on a terracotta *protomē* of around the second century BCE (see Figure 10.7).[130] It thus belongs to the same period and milieu as the evidence for the *Odysseia* festival; indeed, the Polis sanctuary is probably the best candidate for the Odysseion. In short, the assertion of Ithakesian local identity via the persona of Odysseus is essentially a Classical-Hellenistic phenomenon, best understood in the context of economic and political developments in the wider Ionian region.

This observation runs counter to a common tendency to read Ithaka's sanctuaries—and especially the Polis Cave—in the light of Homer (be it literally or in the sense of ritual following myth).[131] Methodologically, however, it is sounder to begin by considering how the full record of Ithaka's main cult places relates to regional norms and the overall material culture of the island itself, period by period.

[125] Chaniotis 1995: 164–8 lists such Hellenistic festivals; he does not include the *Odysseia*, probably because its status as a festival is inferred and we know nothing more about it. Cabanes 1988 notes that while the *Naia* at Dodona is only securely traced from the early third century onwards, an earlier origin cannot be excluded given the poverty of the documentation.

[126] Kern 1900: cats 16–87.

[127] Kern 1900: cat. 35; *IG* 9. 1^2 4. 1582.

[128] The final clause, *παραπέμψαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν Ἰθάκαν*, 'and they are to be sent to Ithaka.'

[129] *εὐχὴν Ὀδυσσεῖ*, 'a prayer to Odysseus'.

[130] *IG* 9.1^2 4. 1615; Benton 1934–5: 54, figure 7.

[131] The latter is advocated by Malkin 1998: 94–119, who emphasizes a maritime perspective and prioritizes external over local island interests; he argues that Odysseus was the recipient of cult here from the outset. Contra Antonaccio 1995: 152–5.

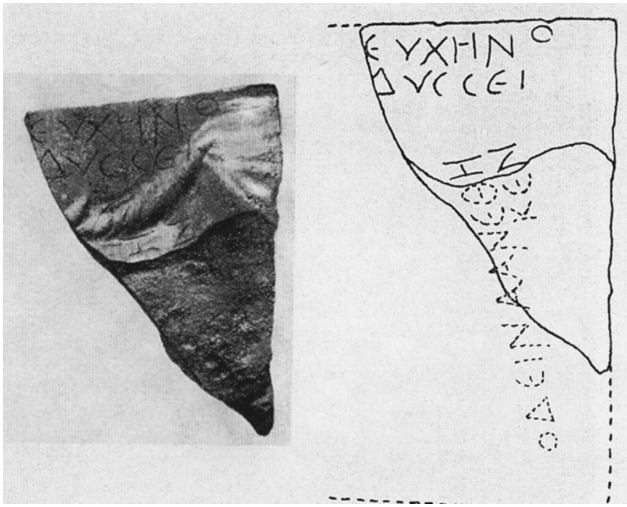


Fig. 10.7 *IG* 9.1^2 4. 1615. Terracotta votive *protomē* with inscribed prayer to Odysseus, second century BCE, from Polis Cave, Ithaka.
Reproduced by courtesy of the British School at Athens.

When this line of approach is followed, it becomes clear that 'Homerizing' particularism is misplaced.[132] Marmarospilia (also known by the modern, Homer-inspired name 'Cave of the Nymphs') belongs with the numerous cave sanctuaries known across the Greek northwest, from Messolonghi to Konispol (and beyond, as noted above); local parallels include Boliatso Cave on Leukas and Drakaina Cave on Kephallonia.[133] The city sanctuary at Aetos, while rich as befits

[132] Unfortunately, only a small fraction of the evidence is published. The range (but not the volume) of finds from the Polis Cave, for example, remains best represented in the preliminary publications of Benton 1934–5 and 1938–9; Deoudi 2008 presents no more than 25% of the total record, includes material from other sites in error, and excludes categories of artefact such as cookwares and Archaic-Classical arms and armour. My observations in this chapter are based on restudy of finds from all British School at Athens excavations in northern Ithaka, and examination of post-EIA finds from Aetos.

[133] Excavations at Marmarospilia, directed by Sarantis Symeonoglou, are not yet published. Konispol: Amore 2006. Drakaina: Chatziotou and Stratouli 2000; Agathi Karadima *pers. comm.* My own research covers, in addition to Polis Cave, ceramics from Boliatso, the Cave of the Cyclops on Meganisi, and Astakos. I am particularly grateful to Stella Katsarou (Ephorate of Speleology and Palaeoanthropology, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sport) for promoting collaborative study and a larger regional

Fig. 10.8 *IG* 9.1^2 4, 1614. Dedication to Athena Polias and Hera Teleia from the Polis Cave, Ithaka.

Photograph: author reproduced by courtesy of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Kephallonia.

a well-connected community, appears to have been dedicated to Olympian deities.[134] The Polis Bay sanctuary, which according to the earliest inscription was dedicated to Athena Polias and Hera Teleia (see Figure 10.8),[135] is the longest-lived, from around the tenth century to Middle Roman, spanning both modes of island settlement, and sharp changes in local context and prevailing material

perspective on these sites. She reports some seventy caves in this region; not all have been excavated and not all housed sanctuaries but, as an indicative example, some ten cave shrines are already documented in Akarnania alone.

[134] While attention has focused on the EIA shrine (Symeonoglou 2002), preliminary excavation reports at least illustrate the range of later material (much of which remains unpublished): Heurtley and Robertson 1948; Benton 1953.

[135] *IG* 9.1^2 4.1614; the larger fragment of this inscription was seen and transcribed by Schliemann in Polis Bay, near the cave, on 12 July 1868, at which time he was shown the location of the excavation (the circumstances are described in his diary for that day, now in the Gennadion archive of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens). A year or two later, the fragment was recovered by William Stillman from a heap of stone over the excavation pit, a joining piece identified in the remaining debris, and the two photographed and drawn (Stillman 1888: 38–42); a new publication was subsequently made by Vollgraff (1905: 165–6) based on autopsy of the two stones on Ithaka.

practices. The Early Iron Age tripod dedications have often been singled out as exceptional and a deliberate allusion to Odysseus' own tripods. But they appear less so when one considers the wider popularity of monumental metal offerings among western elites (dedications at Olympia are an obvious case—other examples include the tripods with textiles found in the richest Submycenaean/Protogeometric graves at Stamna).[136] Following wider trends, at Polis tripod dedications gave way to arms and armour during the Archaic and early Classical periods, and then to terracotta figurines as part of a general move towards purpose-made symbols of lower material value in later Classical and Hellenistic times.[137] The fact that these trends are unexceptional does not detract from the fact that this was a rich and well-connected shrine relevant to the island as a whole (it lies at the most northerly point visible from the acropolis of Aetos). It would, of course, be absurd to suggest that no eighth-century visitor to Polis ever had in mind an *Odyssey*-related tale when offering a dedication. But the sanctuary record merits consideration in its local and regional context, to tease out palimpsests of interests period by period, and thus to escape the Homeric straightjacket.

In conclusion, the Ionian/Adriatic evidence demonstrates the capacity of *nostoi* to add specific value to established forms of material communication. The fact that cases of the kind discussed can be placed precisely in time and space, and within registers of communication, enables us to form a clear picture of how they worked within dialogue across a complex, multiethnic region. This in itself makes a distinctive contribution to regional studies. The body of evidence in the Adriatic is small and wider generalizations dangerous. Yet the way in which the problem has been posed here not only implies an expectation of different responses in other regions, but also establishes a broader framework for comparison.

[136] Kolonas forthcoming.

[137] Malkin 1998: 116–17 treats the end of tripod dedications as evidence of decline: thus 'during the period 700–550 only a thin stream of rather insignificant dedications persists,' indicating a loss of allure. Yet the sanctuary record reveals no such decline, just a shift in preferred forms of votive which matches that generally noted across Greece.

11

Failed *nostoi* and Foundations

Kalchas at Kolophon

Naoíse Mac Sweeney

INTRODUCTION: THE FAILED *NOSTOS*

Successful *nostoi* are boring. For this volume, with its focus on mobility and settlement, an easy homecoming has relatively little to offer. A difficult *nostos*, on the other hand, offers many opportunities for founding new settlements and creating new communities. As several papers in this volume demonstrate, returning wanderers were implicated in the establishment of many cities across the Mediterranean and beyond. This is particularly true of the Achaian heroes returning home after the Trojan War, several of whose stories were told in the epic poem, the *Nostoi*.[1] Those, like Odysseus, who eventually arrived home after long and tortuous journeys were often said to have established cities along the way. Others, like Diomedes, who initially arrived home but were soon compelled to leave again were often credited with founding new homes and communities elsewhere. These problematic or frustrated *nostoi* lay at the heart of many foundation myths.[2]

In this paper, however, I discuss another category of *nostoi*—those that failed completely. Several Achaian heroes are said to have suffered the ultimate *anostos tuchē*, 'destiny of no return',[3] dying on their

[1] Recent scholarship on the *Nostoi* includes West 2013: 244–87; Danek 2015.

[2] In addition to other papers in this volume see crucially Malkin 1998; Erskine 2001: 139–43.

[3] Lyk. *Alex*. 1088 for the idea of *ἄνοστον . . . τύχην* with Hornblower 2015: 390.

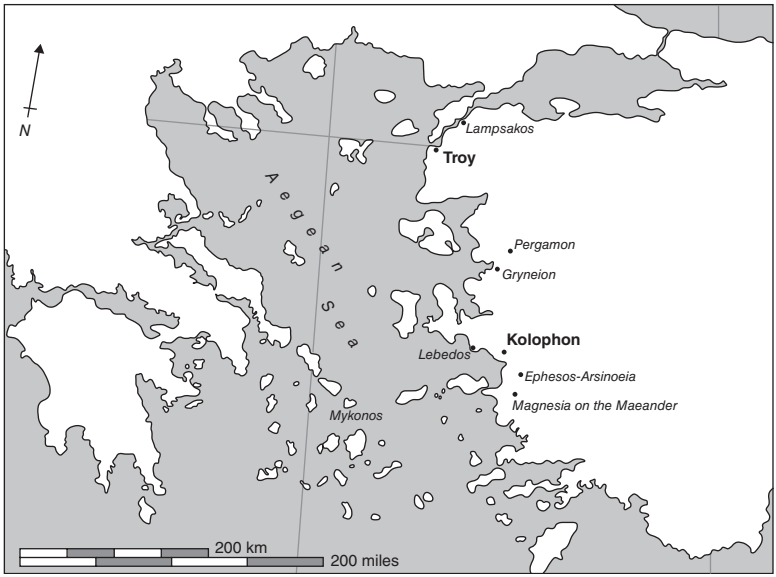
journey home from Troy. Through their early deaths, these individuals lost all chance of a *nostos*, either in the form of returning to their original homes or in the form of establishing new ones.

Proclus' summary of the epic *Nostoi* suggest that three main figures fell into this category (*Nostoi* F1 West). They were: the seer Kalchas, who died and was buried at Kolophon in Asia Minor; Lokrian Aias, who died in a shipwreck in the Aegean and was buried on the island of Mykonos; and the aged Phoinix, who died and was buried somewhere in Thrace. Other stories of failed *nostoi* must also have existed in the wider mythic tradition, but these three individuals seem to have been important examples of the type. Not only were they treated prominently enough within the *Nostoi* for Proclus to include them in his summary, but they were also discussed consecutively by Lykophron in the *Alexandra* (Aias: 387–407; Phoinix: 417–23; Kalchas: 424–38), punctuated only by a brief reference to the many anonymous Achaians fated to die on their way home (408–16). In the interests of brevity, I will focus in particular on one of these failed *nostoi*—that of Kalchas—before returning to consider Kalchas in the context of Aias, Phoinix, and other failed *nostoi* at the end of the paper.

My central argument is that the failed *nostoi* were not associated with foundations. The dead heroes were not treated as civic founders or 'oikists', and neither were they held responsible for community or tribal origins. Instead, these figures seem to have occupied a different place in local mythologies, fulfilling a different set of roles in the construction of civic identity. Although they may not have been founding fathers, these failed *nostoi* could nonetheless loom large—literally as well as figuratively—over the civic landscape.

THE MYTH OF KALCHAS AT KOLOPHON

After the sack of Troy, the Achaian host is said to have split up and taken various routes home. The prophet Kalchas, we are told, foresaw a terrible storm in the Aegean (the same storm that shipwrecked Aias; see below), and so chose to set out overland. Heading south from Troy with his companions, Kalchas is said to have come to Kolophon (see Map 11.1). Here he encountered Mopsos, the son of Apollo and the Delphic seer Manto, and the grandson of the famous prophet



Map 11.1 Map of Aegean and Asia Minor, marked with locations mentioned in the text.

Tiresias.[4] The two engaged in a contest of prophetic skill, which Mopsos won.[5] Kalchas is then said to have died of shame or a broken heart, and was buried at Kolophon.[6]

The story is an old one, appearing in the epic *Nostoi*. Unfortunately, we know relatively little about what the poem said about the myth, as only Proclus' brief summary survives: 'those with Kalchas, Leontes, and Polypoites went overland by foot to Kolophon, and they

[4] While the identity of Mopsos' mother and grandfather are never questioned, sources differ as to the identity of his father. While most sources specify Apollo (Apollod. *Ep.* 6.4; Tzetz. Lyk. *Alex.* 980), some claim his father was Rhakios, Manto's later husband (Paus. 7.3.2). See Scheer 1993: 166–7 and Hornblower 2015: 210–11 for the genealogy and identity of Mopsos.

[5] The myth contains several elements common to other stories of prophetic contests. Comparisons can be made, for example, with the later competition between Mospsos and Amphilochos (see n. 14 below); Apollo and Python (*Homeric Hymn to the Delphic Apollo* 300–74; Fontenrose 1959).

[6] For the most recent comprehensive treatment of the Kalchas-Mopsos myth see Hornblower 2015: 210–15. For discussions of the myth primarily from the perspective of the *Nostoi* see West 2013: 254–8; Danek 2015: 367–8; in relation to the Hesiodic *Melampodia* see Cingano 2009, 122–3; in the context of Pherekydes see Fowler 2013: 546–50.

buried Teiresias who had died there'[7] *Nostoi* F1 West). The myth was also recounted by a number of other authors during the Archaic and Classical periods,[8] including Hesiod (*Melampodia* F278 M-W), Kallinos,[9] Pherekydes (*FGrHist* and *BNJ* 3 F142), and perhaps Theopompos (*FGrHist* and *BNJ* 115 F351).[10] The story continued to circulate in the Hellenistic and imperial periods, when it was recounted by Euphorion (F103 Lightfoot); Lykophron (*Alex.* 424–30); Apollodoros (*Ep.* 6.2–4); Strabo (14.1.27; 14.4.3; 14.5.16); and Konon (*FGrHist* and *BNJ* 26 F1.VI); as well as by several scholiasts (*Σ Od.* 13.259, *Σ* Lyk. *Alex.* 424; Tzetz. Lyk. *Alex.* 980).

As ever with mythic traditions, the various versions of the tale differ in their details. There is some disagreement, for example, over the identity of Kalchas' companions. The *Nostoi* and Tzetzes specify Leontes and Polypoites; Strabo names Amphilochos; and Apollodoros includes all of the above plus Podaleirios. Another point of divergence is the nature of the prophetic competition between Kalchas and Mopsos. In the *Melampodia*, the seers vied to guess the number of figs on a wild fig tree; while in Pherekydes the contest was to determine the number and sex of piglets being carried by a pregnant sow.[11] Later authors, such as Apollodoros, Lykophron, and Strabo presented a combination of both stories. Konon's version is different once more—he suggests they competed to foretell the fortunes in war of the Lykian king Amphimachos. These mythic variations do not, however, detract from the central narrative of the story, which pivots on Kalchas' arrival at Kolophon, his defeat in a prophetic contest by Mopsos, and his resulting death and burial.

[7] *οἱ δὲ περὶ Κάλχαντα καὶ Λεοντέα καὶ Πολυποίτην πεζῇ πορευθέντες εἰς Κολοφῶνα Τειρεσίαν ἐνταῦθα τελευτήσαντα θάπτουσι.*

[8] We have Strabo to thank for our knowledge of these early versions of the story, as he cites the accounts of these authors at varying length (Strabo 14.1.27 for Hesiod, Pherekydes, and Sophocles; 14.4.3 for Kallinos).

[9] There is some discussion over whether this should be Kallisthenes (the fourth-century Alexander historian) rather than Kallinos (the seventh-century elegiac poet from Ephesos), as the Vatican palimpsest of Strabo has Kallisthenes. See Hornblower 2015: 211 for a discussion of this point with references.

[10] Theopompos is reported as saying Kalchas left Troy on foot, but the scholiast does not specify whether he also wrote about the contest with Mopsos in Kolophon.

[11] I have argued elsewhere that the nature of both contests—the pigs and the figs—played on slang terminology for the vagina, and may be related to the sexual ambiguities surrounding the family of Mopsos (Mac Sweeney 2013: 119).

One area of variation is, however, of greater concern for this paper—the location of the story. In several of these cases, the alternative locations can be explained through a connection with Kolophon. In Apollodoros, for example, while the main events of the myth are situated in Kolophon, two locations are given for the tomb—Kolophon (*Ep.* 6.2) and Notion (*Ep.* 6.4). The initial incongruity of this vanishes, however, when we consider that Notion was the port of Kolophon and, as will be discussed in more detail below, after the third century (and certainly by the time the *Epitome* was written) the two locations were often elided.[12] A more worrying doubling of Kalchas' tomb appears in Lykophron, who mentions a tomb at Siris in Italy (978–80) as well as in the territory of Kolophon (424). This doubling, however, should be understood in the context of Siris' status as a colony founded from Kolophon, and the wider practice of colonies appropriating myths from the mother city.[13] Other sources transfer not just the tomb of Kalchas, but the entire story. Sophocles (F180 *TrGF*) and Quintus Smyrnaeus (14.359–68), for example, set the entire tale in Kilikia. Like Siris, however, Kilikia is mythically linked to Kolophon, as the mainstream tradition held that Mopsos and Kalchas' companions eventually left Kolophon to found several cities in Kilikia and Pamphylia.[14] In contrast to Notion, Siris, and Kilikia, one alternative location that cannot be easily explained by a Kolophonian connection is that suggested by Euphorion (F102 Lightfoot), who locates the myth in Gryneion in Aiolis.[15]

[12] I have discussed the close relationship and mythical interchangeability of Kolophon and Notion elsewhere (Mac Sweeney 2013, 114–15; see also Rubinstein in *IACP*: p. 92 and nos. 825, 848, and 858; for the opposite view see Lane Fox 2008: 234–5).

[13] For the Siris-Kolophon argument, see Hornblower 2013: 364–5 with references. Interestingly, there seems to have been a wider tradition linking Kalchas with Magna Graecia more generally, as Lykophron mentions another Italian cenotaph (1048), and there was also reportedly a heroon of Kalchas in Daunia (*FGrHist* and *BNJ* 566 Timaios F56; Strabo 6.3.9). It has been argued, however, that this Kalchas of Magna Graecia might be a different but homonymous hero (Malkin 1998: 256 n. 107; Lightfoot 1999: 443–4). A well-discussed example of colonies assuming the cults or myths of their supposed mother cities is the cult of Artemis of Ephesos in the western Mediterranean, which is associated with the networks surrounding Phokaian colonies (Malkin 2011: 197–200).

[14] *FGrHist* and *BNJ* 115 Theopompos F103; Euphorion F103 Lightfoot; Lyk. *Alex.* 439–46; Pliny *HN* 5.26; Eust. *Σ* Dion. Per. 852. Interestingly, these stories sometimes mention a duel fought between Mopsos and Amphilochos (see discussion in Scheer 1993: 168–73). The Kilikian adventures of Mopsos have been recently discussed in Lane Fox 2008: 224–39; Oettinger 2008; Lopez-Ruiz 2009; Hornblower 2015: 211.

[15] Scheer 1993: 165 n. 79.

There was evidently no single canonical version of the tale, and traditions surrounding the death of Kalchas were clearly fluid and multiple. This multiplicity stands testament to the importance of the story, and its continuing relevance through antiquity—the tale of Kalchas' death was obviously worth telling, and worth innovating on.[16] Nonetheless, within this rich tradition, it is also evident that there was a dominant strand locating Kalchas' death and burial at Kolophon. The *Nostoi*, Hesiod, Pherekydes, Apollodoros, Strabo, Konon, the Iliadic scholiast, the Lykophronic scholiast, and Tzetzes all specify Kolophon as the location of this myth explicitly; while Kallinos, Apollodoros, and Strabo also make reference to Apollo's oracle at Klaros—Kolophon's primary extramural sanctuary.[17]

We can say with some confidence, then, that Kalchas was a figure of mythic significance for Kolophon. The nature of this mythic significance, however, is not immediately clear. Crucially, he does not seem to have been treated as a civic founder or oikist, and is not portrayed as engaging in any of the key activities associated with city foundation. He was not the first person to establish the settlement or community—this role is usually attributed to Manto (*Epigonoi* F4 West); to Manto along with her husband Rhakios (Paus. 7.3.1–2 and 9.33.2); or to Mopsos (Pomponius Mela 1.78). Alternatively, some sources also make reference to the occupation of the city by migrants from Pylos (Mimnermos F9 West) or Athens (Nikandros *Al.* 9–11). Similarly, Kalchas is never described as establishing Kolophon's

[16] I have written elsewhere on the subject of mythic variation, and how it seems to present greater conceptual problems for us today than it did in antiquity: Mac Sweeney 2015.

[17] I have argued elsewhere for a mythical interchangeability between Kolophon and Klaros (Mac Sweeney 2013: 111). An examination of the sources (above p. 248) suggests that they themselves elided Kolophon and Klaros. Strabo locates the myth in 'the Ionian city of Kolophon and in front of it the grove of Klarian Apollo' (*ἡ Κολοφὼν πόλις Ἰωνικὴ καὶ τὸ πρὸ αὐτῆς ἄλσος τοῦ Κλαρίου Ἀπόλλωνος*); Konon states 'Kalchas arrived at Kolophon, when Mopsos occupied the oracle and was prophesying' (*ἀφικνεῖται Κάλχας εἰς Κολοφῶνα, ἐν ᾧι Μόψος ἔχων ἔχρα τὸ μαντεῖον*). Furthermore, a scholiast on Apollonios of Rhodes lists 'Klaros: a place of Kolophon' (*Κλάρον τόπος Κολοφῶνος*: Schol. Ap. Rh. 1.308b); later providing an etymology for the name according to the epic *Epigonoi*, saying that Manto, 'coming to Kolophon, felt sad there and wept for the destruction of her homeland, and the place was called Klaros after her tears' (*ἐλθοῦσα εἰς Κολοφῶνα καὶ ἐκεῖ δυσθυμήσασα ἐδάκρυσε διὰ τὴν τῆς πατρίδος πόρθησιν, διόπερ ὠνομάσθη Κλάρος ἀπὸ τῶν δακρύων*; *Epigonoi* F4 West). Similarly, the scholiast on Nikandros describes Klaros as being 'of the city of Kolophon' (*ἔστι δὲ πόλις Κολοφῶνος*: Schol. Nik. *Ther.* 958); Pausanias is comfortable to locate the same story in Kolophon in one passage (7.3.1) and at Klaros in another (9.33.2).

key civic cults—instead, the foundation of Klaros, in particular, is overwhelmingly ascribed to Manto (*Σ* Ap. Rh. 1.308b; *Σ* Nik. *Ther.* 958; Pomponius Mela 1.78). Finally, Kalchas is not said to be responsible for the naming of either city or cult—this is most often attributed to Manto (*Σ* Ap. Rh. 1.308b; *Σ* Nik. *Ther.* 958); but also to Apollo gaining the land by lot (Nearchos *FGrHist* 133 F29; *Σ* Nik. *Ther.* 958); or to an eponymous local hero (*FGrHist* and *BNJ* 115 Theopompos F346). As I have already discussed the foundation myths of Kolophon and Klaros elsewhere,[18] I will not explore these stories in any further detail here. For the purposes of this paper, what is most important is that Kalchas did not fulfil the role of an oikist at Kolophon.[19]

If not as an oikist, then what was the significance of Kalchas at Kolophon? What meaning did he hold for the city and its citizens? And what role did he play in local tradition and mythologies? To begin to address this question, I will now turn to evidence from Kolophon itself.

THE EVIDENCE FOR KALCHAS AT KOLOPHON

As we have already seen, several literary sources suggest that somewhere in the territory of Kolophon there was a tomb of Kalchas and, by extension, a local cult.[20] The earliest possible reference to this is in the epic *Nostoi* (F1 West; see above), which according to Proclus' report stated that Teiresias was buried at Kolophon. Some commentators have suggested that 'Teiresias' here was an accidental substitution for 'Kalchas', as the original account in the *Nostoi* would have been primarily concerned with the death and burial of Kalchas.[21]

[18] Mac Sweeney 2013: 104–37.

[19] I do not mean to infer that Kalchas was not accorded oikist status because he was a seer. Other seer-oikists are attested, including Hagesias who is described as the *sunoikistēr* of Syracuse by Pindar (*O.* 6 line 6; Foster 2013), and, of course, Manto at Kolophon. I am grateful to Virginia Lewis for this point.

[20] The definition of tomb or 'hero' cult is debated. For the Geometric to Classical periods see Antonaccio 1995; Boehringer 2001; Currie 2005. For the late Classical to Hellenistic periods see Alcock 1991.

[21] E.g. Fowler 2013: 546; West 2013: 254–5.

Following this, the next reference to the Kolophonian tomb of Kalchas comes from Lykophron's *Alexandra*:

> Three sea-swallows will be buried in the woods of Kerkaphos.
> not far from the waters of the Ales.
> One of them, the swan of the Molossian Kypean Koitan god,
> made a mistake about the offspring of the female, the sow,
> after he had drawn his rival into a contest of wits
> about figs; he shall, after his defeat,
> sleep his allotted fate of sleep, as ordained by oracles.[22]
>
> Lykophron, *Alexandra* 424–30 (text and translation from Hornblower 2015: 211–3)

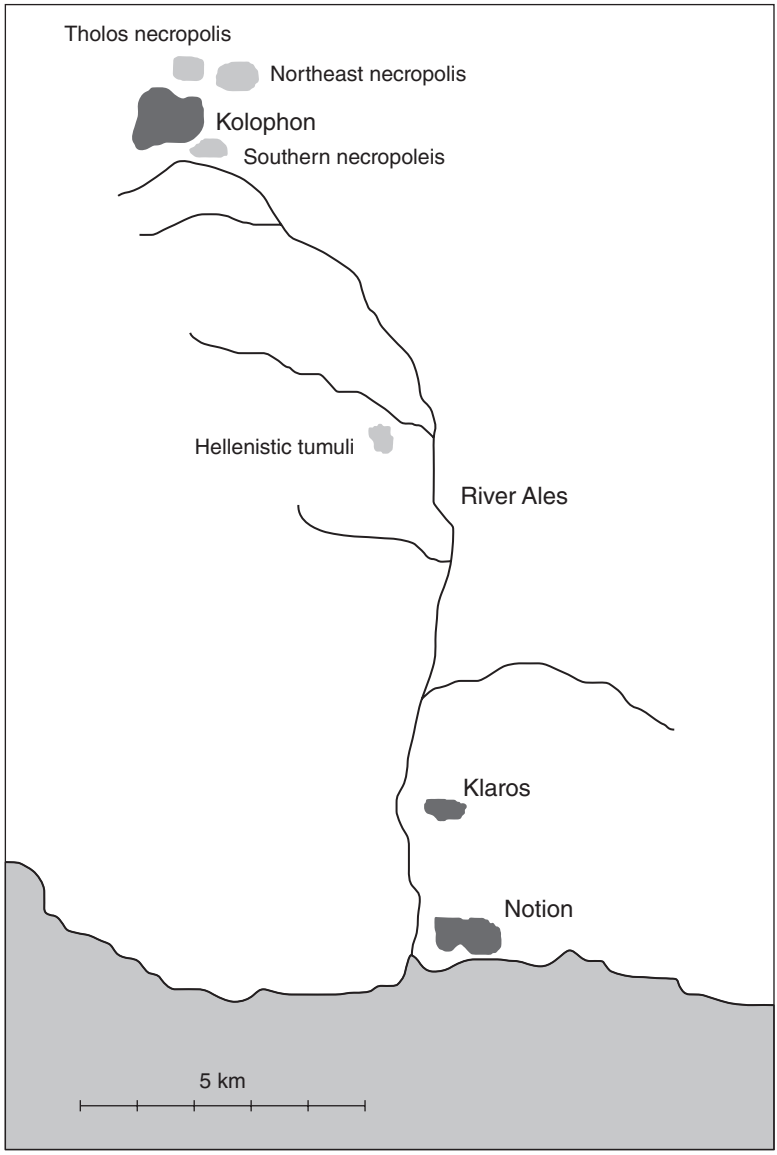
The specific geography is discussed by Tzetzes in his commentary on the poem, who describes the location of the *Kerkaphou napai* ('groves of Kerkaphos') thus: 'Kerkaphos is a mountain not far distant from Kolophon but obviously close to the waters and the stream of the Ales, the river of Kolophon':[23] Tzetzes on Lyk. *Alex* 424). Three peaks may potentially fit this description—Sivridağ, immediately south-west of the city; Karadiadağ, midway between Kolophon and Klaros; and Yaren Tepe, directly north of the city. As we have already seen, Apollodoros seems to imply that the tomb was located at Kolophon's port of Notion, saying: 'he was buried at Notion' (*etaphē en Notiōi*: *Ep.* 6.4).

While there was evidently a tradition of Kalchas having a tomb in the territory of Kolophon, no archaeological evidence has yet emerged to confirm this. There were, however, many tombs in the landscape immediately around the city which might possibly have been identified with the burial of Kalchas (see Map 11.2).

One potential candidate is the Mycenaean tholos tomb, which lay to the north of the main urban zone. This tholos, already robbed in antiquity, was hastily excavated in 1922 in difficult circumstances due

[22] *τρισσοὺς δὲ ταρχύσουσι Κεκάφου νάπαι*
Ἄλεντος οὐκ ἄπωθε καύηκας ποτων.
τὸν μέν, Μολοσσοῦ Κυπέως Κοίτου κύκον,
συὸς παραπλαγχθέντα θηλείας τόκων,
ὅτ'εἰς ὀλύνθων δῆριν ἐλκύσας σοφὴν
τὸν ἀνθάμιλλον, αὐτὸς ἐκ μαντευμάτων
σφαλεὶς ἰαύσει τὸν μεμορμένον πότμον.

[23] *ὁ δὲ Κέρκαφος ὄρος Κολοφῶνός ἐστιν οὐκ ἄποθεν δὲ καὶ οὐ μακρόθεν ἀλλὰ δηλονότι πλησίον τῶν ποτῶν καὶ τῶν ὑδάτων τοῦ Ἀλέντος ποταμοῦ Κολοφῶνος.*



Map 11.2 Map of Kolophon, Klaros, and Notion.

to the Graeco-Turkish War.[24] Information about the tholos was published only in 1974, relying solely on excavation records, as all finds and primary material had been lost in the intervening years.[25] One detail from the excavation notebooks that did not make it into the eventual publication was a stele that was reportedly found 'lying in tholos', which originally stood at *c.*1.6m in height.[26] Stelai such as this were a common feature of tomb cult in the Iron Age Aegean, and it is possible that this stele was erected as part of a tomb cult at the tholos. Perhaps also relevant is that excavators reported 'pottery found on top of stones of tholos'.[27] This pottery suggests ritual activity, either linked to the tholos specifically or to the several other burials clustered around it. These burials, according to a careful study of the excavation records, likely date to the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, some as late as the seventh century BCE.[28] This indicates that, at the very least, the area around the tholos continued to have ritual significance well into the Iron Age. Unfortunately, it may never be possible to ascertain if there was indeed anything like a tomb cult here, as all trace of the tholos and surrounding tombs has now disappeared, ploughed into the surrounding fields.[29]

Slightly to the north-east of the Mycenaean tholos lies what is known as the 'North-east Necropolis', a low-lying cemetery area characterized by several large tumuli from the Geometric and early Archaic periods.[30] While most of these seem to have taken the form of wide, low mounds (roughly 22m in diameter, and 1–2m in height), one—known as Mound I—was notably taller (measured at 9m in height in 1922) as well as wider (measured at 40m in diameter in 2013–14). This morphological variation does not seem to have been

[24] For the details and political implications of this excavation campaign see Davis 2000 and 2003.

[25] Bridges 1974.

[26] This note and a scale drawing of the stele can be found on the ninth page of L. B. Holland's field notebook. The relevant page can be viewed online at the website of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/index.php/archives/Excavation-%20Records#Kolophon).

[27] This comment is taken from the field note book of H. Goldman, Monday 5 June 1922, p. 75.

[28] Gassner et al. 2017: 55–6.

[29] Bruns-Özgan et al. 2011: 226–7; Gassner et al. 2017: 57–8. This area is variously known as the 'North Cemetery', 'Cemetery B', or the 'Değirmendere Cemetery' in the early excavation records and publications.

[30] For details and measurements of these tumuli see Gassner et al. 2017: 58–62. For a re-evaluation of the 1922 excavations of the tumuli see Mariaud 2010.

caused by differential preservation or later human intervention, suggesting that Mound I would have remained a conspicuous marker in the landscape throughout antiquity.[31]

Mortuary activity seems to have moved south of the city during the Archaic period, where recent survey work has identified no fewer than ninety-five burial mounds and twenty-eight other built graves.[32] Many of the burials here seem to be of Classical date, although the use of these cemetery areas may range from the late Archaic to the early Hellenistic period. Some of these mounds would also have been significant landscape features, with the largest being up to 15m in diameter and 4m in height.[33] Indeed, several seem to have been located with visibility in mind, standing out on hillsides or along the crest of a high ridge overlooking the city. Further south still, a number of outlying tumuli have also been identified.[34] Some of these seem to belong to the early Hellenistic period, in particular those further south along the road between Kolophon, Klaros, and Notion. It is possible that one of these may have been the tomb of the Kolophonians and Smyrnaians who died fighting against Lysimachos in the early third century BCE. This tomb was said to be 'on the road to Klaros on the left' (Paus. 7.3.4).[35]

There is no evidence that any of these burials were considered in antiquity to be the tomb of Kalchas. And yet, it would not be surprising if one of them had been. Like many other Greek cities, Kolophon was surrounded by a rich and evocative mortuary landscape. More unusually, this mortuary landscape was characterized by large burial mounds, which conspicuously marked and transformed the landscape.[36] These tumuli were often designed to be highly visible, recognizable at great distances not just by their size but also by their location. Epigraphic evidence suggests that at least some of these would have been linked with local hero or tomb cults. At the end of the fourth or start of the third century BCE, the Kolophonians built a

[31] As noted in Gassner et al. 2017: 62.
[32] Gassner et al. 2017: 62–75.
[33] Gassner et al. 2017: 67.
[34] Gassner et al. 2017: 74–5.
[35] *ἐς Κλάρον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ*. For discussion of this tomb see Schuchhardt 1886: 414–15; Vacante 2015: 591.
[36] In the immediate area, tumulus burials have also been found around the cities of Klazomenai and Smyrna, but in much smaller quantities. Only at Larissa, further north in Aiolis, can a comparable number of tumuli be found, most of which seem to be smaller (Gassner et al. 2017: 76); or further inland at the cemetery of Bin Tepe at Sardis (Luke and Roosevelt 2016).

new circuit of city walls, as commemorated in a lengthy building inscription.[37] As part of the consecration ceremony, sacrifices and oaths were given to various named gods, as well as to 'all the other gods and the heroes who occupy our city and countryside'.[38] Given Kolophon's penchant for conspicuous mortuary commemoration, and this explicit acknowledgement of hero cults in the *chōra*, it would therefore not be surprising at all if, at some stage in antiquity, there had been a tomb cult of Kalchas at Kolophon.

The lack of archaeological evidence notwithstanding, it is nonetheless evident that there was a *tradition* of such a cult. The literary sources alone demonstrate that the *idea* of a cult of Kalchas at Kolophon was in circulation, even if we have no clear evidence for this cult. What was at stake, then, in the *idea* of the city celebrating Kalchas? Why might the idea of this cult have emerged, and why might it have persisted? What reason would there be for imputing its existence at all?

THE CONTEXT OF KALCHAS AT KOLOPHON

To answer these questions, we must turn to the history of Kolophon itself. The best fixed date we have for the attestation of the Kalchas tomb is that of Lykophron, as the reference in the *Nostoi* is unclear and that in Apollodoros cannot be firmly dated. Interestingly, following the dating of Hornblower, around the time that Lykophron wrote the *Alexandra c.*190 BCE,[39] the city of Kolophon was in a period of dramatic change and renewal.

Although Kolophon may have begun the third century in a mood of positive enthusiasm, with the building of a new circuit of city walls (see above), the city suffered a dramatic reversal some time between *c.*294 and 289 BCE.[40] According to Pausanias, at this time Lysimachos

[37] For the inscription see Meritt 1935: no. 1 (Maier 1959–61: no. 69). The date of this inscription has traditionally been given as late fourth century, although Vacante (2015: 596) has recently argued that the walls were built at some time between 302 and 297 BCE.

[38] *καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις καὶ τοῖς ἥρωσιν οἳ κατέχουσιν ἡμῶν τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν*: Meritt 1935: 362: no.1, col. I, lines 18–20.

[39] Hornblower 2015: 36–9.

[40] The *terminus post quem* is Lysimachos' capture of Ephesos, likely in 294 BCE when his rival Demetrius was away from Asia Minor; and the *terminus ante quem* is

deported the citizens of Kolophon and forced them to settle in his new city of Ephesos-Arsinoeia, along with the inhabitants of Lebedos and those of the old city of Ephesos (Paus. 1.9.7). Old Kolophon, Pausanias tells us, was laid waste because of the Kolophonians' resistance to the move (Paus. 7.3.4). The idea of a wholesale destruction, however, is not borne out by the archaeology. Recent results instead suggest that there was a significant decrease in population, and that the traditional centre of the city saw limited occupation in from the 280s onwards.[41] It is also possible that some of the city's inhabitants moved to Notion, as both the epigraphy and archaeology of Notion suggest expansion around this time.[42] Indeed, it was in this period that Notion began to be known as 'Kolophon-by-the-Sea'.[43]

The third century was a time of geographical indeterminacy for the Kolophonians. Both archaeological and epigraphic evidence suggest that people continued to live in the old city.[44] At the same time, however, civic functions were beginning to shift to Klaros and Notion. Around the middle of the third century, a decree from Klaros concerning tax farming made reference to 'Kolophonians living in either Notion or Kolophon',[45] as well as Kolophonians 'registered in either Notion or Kolophon'.[46] This was to change by the start of the second century. While in 206 BCE it was still just about possible

298/8 BCE, when the city of Arsinoe appears on an inscription of the Ionian League from Miletos (Vacante 2015: 553–4).

[41] Vacante 2015: 593–5; Gassner et al. 2017: 53–4.

[42] Recent archaeological survey at Notion has documented a significant increase in finds from the third century when compared with earlier periods, although more work is planned to investigate further (Ratté and Rojas 2017).

[43] For a list of epigraphic and literary references to Notion as 'Kolophon-by-the-Sea' see Vacante 2015: 582–3.

[44] See n. 41 above for the archaeological remains of third-century occupation. The best-known piece of epigraphic evidence for third-century activity in the Metroön on the acropolis comes from an inscription mentioning the tribes of the city, including a tribe named after Seleukos (Meritt 1935, 380–1: no. 6). This tribe must have been named during the period when the Seleukids were mostly in control of Asia Minor between *c.*281–241 BCE.

[45] *Κολοφωνίων τῶν κατοικούντων | ἐν Νοτίωι ἢ Κολοφῶνι*: Étienne and Migeotte 1998: 145 lines 38–9.

[46] *ὅσοι γράφωνται ἐν Νοτίωι ἢ ἐν Κολοφῶνι*: Étienne and Migeotte 1998: 145 line 40. This decree appears on the same stele as a decree slightly later in the third century, which deals with the same issue of tax farming. The later decree also makes reference to Kolophonians both in the old city of Kolophon and in Notion, explicitly referring to Notion in this case as 'Kolophon-by-the-Sea' (Étienne and Migeotte 1998: 144 line 13).

to speak of 'the Kolophonians living in the old city and the Kolophonians living by the sea',[47] by 190 BCE the population could be better described as 'the Kolophonians, who live in Notion' (*Colophoniis, qui in Notio habitant*: Livy 38.39.8). Lysimachos' forced relocation to Arsinoeia therefore marked the start of a long, slow process of population shift that lasted the best part of a century. Over time, as the remaining inhabitants of the old inland city moved towards the coast, the area around Klaros and Notion—which had always been a crucial part of the Kolophonian territory—gradually became the geographic core of the *polis* of 'Kolophon'.[48]

By the turn of the third into the second century, this process seems to have become one of consolidation and strengthening.[49] The renewal of construction work at Klaros, previously abandoned due to the Lysimachean relocation, suggests newfound prosperity. At precisely this time, a dramatic new oracular crypt was constructed beneath the temple of Apollo and a colossal statue group was erected.[50] Furthermore, the reference by Livy mentioned above to the Kolophonians at Notion comes in the context of their support for Rome in the wars of 192–188 BCE against the Seleukid king Antiochos III. By this point Kolophon was evidently confident enough to reassert itself on the international stage, and strong enough to withstand a siege led by Antiochos himself in 190 BCE that lasted for several months (Livy 37.26–31). For their efforts, the Kolophonians were rewarded with tax exemptions in the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE (Livy 38.39.8), which can only have contributed further to the city's growing prosperity.[51]

At the end of the third and beginning of the second century, therefore, Kolophon was emerging from a period of instability and

[47] *Κολοφώνιο*[*ι οἱ τὴν*] | *ἀρχαίαν πόλ*[*ιν οἰ*]*κοῦντες* | *Κολοφώνιοι ἀ*[*πὸ*] | *θαλάσσης*: Kern 1900: 44 no. 53 lines 74–9. This inscription from Magnesia on the Maeander lists envoys sent from various Ionian cities to the festival of Artemis Leukophryene.

[48] Kolophon was not the only Ionian city to undergo a topographic shift around this time. Ephesos, as we have already seen, was forcibly moved by Lysimachos from its previous location (which at the time was a few kilometres inland due to the silting of the river mouth) to a location at Arsinoe (which at this time was on the coast).

[49] For this period in general in Asia Minor see Bresson 2001.

[50] Moretti 2009: 173; Moretti et al. 2014: 36.

[51] For Kolophon's continued engagement with Rome in the mid second century, we can learn much from the career of Menippos, Kolophon's ambassador on several occasions and also at points a Roman agent. See the honorific inscription to Menippos at Klaros (*SEG* 39.1244; Robert and Robert 1989: 70–1 and 101–2).

change and into one of redevelopment and renewal. But as well as physical rebuilding and expansion, Kolophon also needed to forge a new sense of civic identity and to cultivate a new sense of civic pride. Crucially, the period saw a revived interest in the city's mythic past, and a renewal and perhaps even a reinvention of cult traditions. As well as getting a facelift, the sanctuary at Klaros was effectively rebranded at the turn of the century, with a formal request for *asylia* and re-establishment of the penteteric games of the Klaria.[52] Inscriptions from the early second century tell us that Klaros' new status was officially recognized by the Ionian League,[53] as well as other cities[54] including Rome.[55] Local history also enjoyed a renaissance, and at least two works of Kolophonian history were written at this time—the *Kolophōniaka* and the *Peri tōn ek Kolophōntos poiētōn* (*On the poets who came from Kolophon*).[56] Although both are now sadly lost, these would almost certainly have included some discussion of the city's distant past and its early myths, likely including the death and burial of Kalchas.

As well as the more general interest in local history, there seems to have been a more specific focus on the epic, and in particular the Homeric, past. This may perhaps be ultimately linked to the tradition

[52] Rigsby 1996: 351–3. Interestingly, Kolophon was not the only city seeking to renew its sanctuary and civic identity at the turn of the third into the second centuries. Magnesia on the Maeander was engaged in similar moves concerning the temple of Artemis Leukophryene (see n. 47 above, and Patterson 2010: 113–17; 131–2), and comparable claims of *asylia* can be found for Miletos/Didyma, Amyzon, Kyzikos, and other cities in the region. This, as argued by Flashar (1999), must be in part a response to the aggressive policies of Antiochos III around this time. However, it must also have been at least partly dependent on the cities in question having the stability and prosperity necessary to undertake significant civic projects.

[53] Müller and Prost 2013 discuss this inscription of the Ionian League, found at Klaros.

[54] See *SEG* 33.973 (Rigsby 1996: 352 no. 172) for a decree found at Notion of an unknown Dorian city recognizing the games and *asylia*.

[55] See *SEG* 1.440 (Rigsby 1996: 352–3 no. 173) for a letter to the Kolophonians from the Scipio brothers, found inscribed at Klaros.

[56] *FGrHist* 271–2 FF 9–10. Both of these works are attributed to Nikandros of Kolophon, although there may have been two such Nikandroi. It is possible that the author of these two historiographical works may have been a slightly older relative of the Nikandros who wrote the didactic poems, the *Theriaka* and the *Alexipharmaka*. While these two latter poems seem to date to the second century, the local histories may be slightly earlier. For a recent discussion of the 'two Nikandroi' see Overduin 2014: 9–11. For another author of *Kolophōniaka*, see *FGrHist* 449 (Erxias).

that Homer himself hailed from Kolophon.[57] A new issue of bronze coins from around this time featured Homer in combination with Apollo Kitharoides.[58] There may also have been a shrine dedicated to Homer at Notion, as an inscription from the end of the third century mentions 'the running race in the Homereion that is to be the responsibility of the gymnasiarch'.[59] It is possible that this Homereion may have housed the statue of Homer mentioned by Pseudo-Plutarch in the *Life of Homer*.[60] Furthermore, Kolophonian writers of the second century also self-consciously styled themselves in Homeric fashion. In the *Theriaka*, for example, not only did the author write in epic hexameters, use Homeric dialect, and engage in complex Homeric intertextuality,[61] but he also explicitly referred to himself as 'Homeric Nikandros' (*Homēreioio . . . Nīkandroio*: line 957).

[57] The link between Homer and Kolophon was an old one, first appearing a comic poem of the seventh–sixth century, the *Margites* (Graziosi 2002: 66–72). The specific claim that Kolophon was the birthplace of Homer can be traced as far back as the early fourth century and the Kolophonian poet Antimachos (F166 Matthews; Graziosi 2002: 232–3), after which it was repeated by Nikandros and entered the broader tradition concerning the life of Homer (e.g. Ps-Plut. *Vit. Hom.* 2. 2).

[58] There is some uncertainty over the dating of Kolophon's Homeric coins in the Hellenistic period (another Homeric issue appeared in the third century CE). Head dated the type to between 300 and 189 BCE (1892: 41 no. 42), while Milne suggested that the type appeared only in the first century (1941: 19 and 79 nos 178–9). Esdaile, which remains the only dedicated study of Homeric coinage to date, favoured a date before 189 BCE (1912: 310). On balance, a second-century date seems likely, and Kolophon's Homeric issue should probably be seen in the context of a wider trend in the mid second century in Asia Minor whereby a wide range of new civic coins was issued, many of which featured local heroes and cults (Thonemann 2015: 59–62). The image of Homer on the coins may even have drawn from a statue that reportedly stood in Kolophon (see n. 60 below), as several other coins from this period also featured local cult statues (Thonemann 2015: 62).

[59] *τὴν δέ διαδρομήν συντε[λεῖσθαι ὑπο τοῦ γ]υμνασιάρχου ἐν τῶι Ὁμηρείωι*: Macridy 1905: 161–3 lines 26–7.

[60] Ps-Plut. *Vit. Hom.* 1.4: 'There are some, however, who endeavour to show that he [Homer] was a Kolophonian, taking as their main piece of evidence the elegiacs inscribed on his statue, which run as follows: Son of Meles, Homer, you gave glory to all Hellas | and to your homeland Kolophon for ever; | and from your breast with your godlike soul you fathered | these two maidens, by writing out your texts. | One of them sings Odysseus' far-roaming return, | the other the Dardanids' war at Ilion': *εἰσὶ μέντοι οἳ καὶ Κολοφώνιον αὐτὸν ἀποδεικνύναι πειρῶνται, μεγίστωι τεκμηρίωι χρώμενοι πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν τῶι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος ἐπιγεγραμμένωι ἐλεγείωι· ἔχει δὲ οὕτως· 'υἱὲ Μέλητος Ὅμηρε, σὺ γὰρ κλέος Ἑλλάδι πάσηι | καὶ Κολοφῶνι πάτρηι θῆκας ἐς ἀίδιον· | καὶ τάσδ' ἀντιθέωι ψυχῆι γεννήσαο κούρας | δισσὰς ἡμιθέων, γραψάμενος σελίδας· | ὑμνεῖ δ' ἣ μὲν νόστον Ὀδυσσῆος πολύπλαγκτον, | ἣ δὲ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν Δαρδανιδῶν πόλεμον*. Text and translation from West 2003b: 410–11.

[61] Overduin 2014: 64–5, 69–71, 93–7.

Indeed, when Nikandros came to write about his homeland in the *Alexipharmaka*, he described it in distinctly Homeric terms, as the place 'contained within the strong headland of Aisagea and in Kerkaphos'[62] (lines 217–18). The toponym 'Aisagea' appears only here in the *Alexipharmaka* and in the *Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo*, where Leto is said to fly over 'gleaming Klaros and the high mountain of Aisagea'[63] (line 40). One of the two toponyms used by Nikandros of his homeland, therefore, has Homeric resonances. The other is Kerkaphos—a toponym which is known only from this passage in the *Alexipharmaka* and from Lykophron's allusion to the tomb of Kalchas.

When Lykophron mentioned this tomb, he did so at a time of civic and mythic renewal at Kolophon. There was new investment in urban and cult spaces; new expansion in the political and diplomatic sphere; new explorations of civic identity and the mythic past; and a new interest in the specifically Homeric heritage. Against such a background, the *idea* of a tomb of Kalchas may have held some appeal at Kolophon.

THE POLITICS OF KALCHAS AT KOLOPHON

At the start of the second century, the idea of a tomb and cult of Kalchas may have been an attractive one for a city that had recently embarked on a large-scale project of civic reimagining, involving both mythic and cultic reconfiguration. It may have been especially appealing given the city's long-established traditions of monumental burial and marking the landscape with conspicuous tombs. But as the second century progressed it may have become yet more attractive, given the specific context of Kolophon's political links with Rome.

During this time, Roman influence and eventually Roman rule in Asia Minor had a profound impact on the way that the cities of the region constructed their mythic traditions.[64] Given Rome's claim of foundation from Troy, several cities in Asia Minor now found it appropriate to rediscover their own mythical connections to Troy, or to its allies. In 197 BCE for example, the city of Lampsakos sent ambassadors to Rome, requesting Roman protection on the basis

[62] ἤ καὶ ἐρυμνός | Αἰσαγέης πρηὼν καὶ Κέρκαφος ἐντὸς ἐέργει.
[63] καὶ Κλάρος αἰγλήεσσα καὶ Αἰσαγέης ὄρος αἰπύ.
[64] For Roman engagement in Asia Minor see Ferrary 2001.

of ancient *sungeneia* (kinship) through Troy.[65] Similarly, Rome showed favour to the Lykian cities in the Treaty of Apamea despite their support for Antiochos, because Lykia had been a vital ally of Troy during the Trojan War (Polybius 22.5). Later in the century, the Lykians celebrated this ancestral alliance in dedications.[66] A similar process may have been underway at Magnesia on the Maeander, which began to engage with its Amazonian past around this time.[67] When the temple of Artemis Leukophryene was rebuilt *c.*190 BCE and relaunched as an interstate cult, the sculptural decoration featured an amazonomachy on the frieze. Around the same time, Possis of Magnesia wrote an *Amazonis* (*FGrHist* and *BNJ* 480 F2), which seems to have interwoven Panhellenic stories such as that of the Argo and Herakles with local traditions concerning Amazons. In a second-century context, the Amazons' status as Trojan allies must have been part of their appeal for the Magnesians.[68] Rome's growing influence in second-century Asia Minor meant that a mythic connection to Troy acquired new political value.

Given what we know of Kolophon's foundation stories and early myths, there was no obvious way that the city would have been able to engage in this kind of kinship diplomacy with Rome. The surviving traditions suggest no clear route by which Kolophon could claim descent either from Troy or from a Trojan ally. And yet, in the contest of Kalchas and Mopsos, Kolophon had what might have been the next best thing—a myth featuring the defeat of a high-profile Achaian hero on his way home from the Trojan War. The prophetic contest could, therefore, have worked as an analogy for the Trojan War, with the Kolophonian hero Mopsos assuming an equivalent role to that of the Trojan heroes, defending his homeland from incoming Achaians. The ancestors of the Kolophonians could be viewed as comparable to those of the Romans: caught in a similarly defensive position, and fighting against the same foe.[69]

[65] *Syll.*[3] 591. Erskine 2001: 169–72. [66] *ILS* 32. Erskine 2001: 177–8.

[67] For stories of Amazonian occupation in this part of Asia Minor see Blok 1996; Mac Sweeney 2013: 139–43.

[68] Biagetti (2010: 61) suggests instead that the Magnesian interest in Amazons may have been related to a primordial mother cult, while Banchich (2016) raises the issue of a regional conception of Artemis as connected to Amazons, given the widely-attested links between Amazons and the Ephesian Artemision.

[69] The figure of Kalchas may have eventually acquired positive associations from a Roman perspective—in Quintus Smyrnaeus, it is Kalchas who saves Aineias from the

For second-century Kolophon, therefore, the figure of Kalchas may have offered a powerful way of engaging in mythical diplomacy with Rome. This was evidently not what we now refer to as 'kinship diplomacy'—the claim of shared ancestry being deployed in the service of contemporary political relationships.[70] Equally, this was not what we might call 'ancestral alliance diplomacy' where, as in the case of the Lykian cities and perhaps Magnesia with Rome, the idea of an old alliance between one's forebears could be used for forging new political relationships. Both of these uses of myth postulate a direct relationship between the ancestors of the contemporary groups—either as kin or as allies/friends. In contrast, the Mopsos-Kalchas story at Kolophon implies no direct relationship between Rome and Kolophon, and makes no claim of interaction between their ancestors. The mythic opportunity offered by Kalchas, therefore, was not for something *shared* (a shared past), but rather for something *analogous* (an analogous past). This is a qualitatively different type of mythic diplomacy from that which has dominated studies of the subject to date. We might, for the sake of clarity, want to create a term for this. Unfortunately, I can offer nothing more inventive than 'ancestral analogy diplomacy', which although descriptive is admittedly clunky.

Before we leave Asia Minor to return to the other failed *nostoi*, it is worth pointing out one other potential case of this 'ancestral analogy diplomacy' with Rome. The Attalid dynasty of Pergamon, Rome's key ally in the region, claimed descent from Telephos, the son of Herakles and king of the Mysians. This choice of founding hero had many potential benefits in an early Hellenistic context, as it provided the Pergamenes with a heroic and Hellenic past.[71] Telephos would have acquired a new significance, however, in the context of diplomacy with Rome. At opposite end of the Trojan War from Mopsos, he fought against Achaians who arrived in Mysia on their way to Troy, and was badly wounded by Achilles in the process. The story of Telephos and Achilles, therefore, served Pergamon in a similar way to the tale of Mopsos and Kalchas at Kolophon, acting as an ancestral

sack of Troy and foretells the glories of Aineias' Roman progeny (13.333–46). The contribution of the Mopsos-Kalchas myth and Kolophon to this Roman rehabilitation of Kalchas is unclear, but the possibility remains intriguing. I am grateful to Jason Harris for this point.

[70] Jones 1999; Patterson 2010.

[71] Scheer 1993: 71–149; Scheer 2003: 223–6.

analogy between Pergamon and Rome. Pergamon appears as an analogue and double for Rome, as the ancestors of both—the Mysians and the Trojans respectively—battled against the Achaians.[72] Interestingly, the Attalid appropriation of Telephos can be located in the same time period as the possible Kolophonian interest in Kalchas—it is first attested at the end of the third century[73] and seems to have gathered momentum in the second.[74] And yet for Pergamenes, the analogy between Telephos and Troy might also have been problematic. Telephos eventually came to terms with his Achaian attackers, leading them to the very walls of Troy.

In contrast, the Mopsos-Kalchas story is different in one crucial respect—in this case, the Achaian hero was vanquished. Where the ancestors of Pergamon and Rome both failed, the ancestor of the Kolophonians triumphed. Celebrating the Kalchas story in second-century Kolophon, therefore, was not a case of celebrating Kalchas himself, but rather of celebrating his defeat.

FAILED *NOSTOI*, FOUNDATIONS, AND FIGURES OF CIVIC MYTH

The significance of Kalchas in early-second-century Kolophon is temporally specific and historically contingent. While the story of his defeat at the hands of Mopsos could have been a source of civic pride in many different periods, at this particular time it must have acquired a specific new political relevance. We cannot, therefore, extrapolate the idea of Kalchas as a focus for 'ancestral analogy diplomacy' to other periods. Nor can we necessarily extrapolate the model to other myths and other locations, even in the cases of other failed *nostoi*.

There is no evidence, for example, that the Lokrian Aias occupied a similar position in the civic mythology of Mykonos. As the most basic level, the story of Aias' failed *nostos* and his Mykonian tomb seems to

[72] See Davies 2000: 8 for the Achaians' activities in Mysia as an episode that '*anticipates*, and serves as a *doublet* of, the Trojan War itself'. For the utility of the figure of Telephos in Attalid-Roman relations see Scheer 1993: 148–9.

[73] In 209 BCE the Aiginetans donated a statue of Telephos to Pergamon on account of their *sungeneia* through Aiakos, Telephos' uncle (*IG* 2^2 885; Scheer 1993: 127–8).

[74] Scheer 1993: 133–44.

have been recounted less frequently than that of Kalchas at Kolophon (*Nostoi* F1 West; Lyk. *Alex.* 387–407; Apollod. *Ep.* 6.5).[75] Similarly, we know of no traditions or archaeological remains that might point to a tomb cult of Aias on the island.[76] From the evidence available, therefore, Aias did not seem to have been an important figure in Mykonian civic myth, which instead seems to have focused on the eponymous founder (Diod. 5.79.2; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Μύκονος*),[77] or the Ionian migrant Neleus (Zenobius, *Ep.* 5.17).

Although Kalchas cannot serve as a model for understanding the stories of failed *nostoi* elsewhere, his Kolophonian story can nonetheless function as a spur to their further investigation. To date, both in our investigations of local mythologies and in our research on mythic diplomacy, we have tended to focus almost exclusively on two particular types of mythic figures—founders and ancestors. Yet the case of Kalchas at Kolophon demonstrates that other categories of mythic figure could also be of great significance in the construction of local history and civic identity. Local heroes need not be oikists or forefathers—instead, they could have a range of quite different relationships to the landscape in which they were supposedly buried, and to the people by whom they were honoured. While Kalchas at Kolophon may be one such example, the cult surrounding Hektor's bones in Thebes must be another (Lyk. *Alex.* 1189–1213; Paus. 9.18.5),[78] and the cult of Oidipous at Kolonos is another still (Soph. *Oid. Kol.*).[79] The failed *nostoi*, almost by definition, did not result in foundation or the establishment of new lineages. Yet they could potentially hold a range of meanings nonetheless. To get a better sense of what these might be, we must shift our attention away from founders and towards a more general idea of figures in civic myth.[80]

[75] West 2013: 260–2.

[76] There is a Mycenaean tomb on Mykonos, but there is no sign here whatsoever of a later tomb cult associated with the tholos (Hadzidakis 1997; Ioannis Galanakis *pers. comm.*). Hornblower mentions no further traditions of the tomb of Aias (2015: 205).

[77] Reger 2001: 179–80; Carbon 2015: 542.

[78] Hornblower 2015: 422–33; NcNeils and Sens 2016: 194–9.

[79] Calame 1998.

[80] I am grateful to Simon Hornblower and Giulia Biffis for the invitation to participate in this volume and the conference on which it was based. I am also grateful to them and the other participants at the conference for their valuable comments. I would also like to thanks participants of a research seminar at Bryn Mawr College in February 2017 and a reading group at Harvard's Center for Hellenic Studies in March 2017 for their useful discussion on early versions of the paper.

12

Mediterranean Perspectives on Departure, Displacement, and Home

Nicholas Purcell

Empedocles: Either to-morrow or some other day,
In the sure revolutions of the world,
Good friend, I shall revisit Catana.
I have seen many cities in my time,
Till mine eyes ache with the long spectacle,
And I shall doubtless see them all again;
Thou know'st me for a wanderer from of old.

Matthew Arnold, *Empedocles on Etna* (1852), 471–7

HOME IS SHAPED BY ITS ANTITHESES

The assembled audience in the theatre in Rome in October 68 CE knew a good song about returning home. The Atellan farce was under way, perhaps during the *ludi Augustales*, at the very moment that Galba made his first entry into Rome, and when the verse 'Here comes Onesimus, fresh from the farm', *venit Onesimus a villa*, was sung, everyone joined in, and sang that part of the song over and over again.[1]

[1] Suet. *Galba* 13: quare adventus eius non perinde gratus fuit, inde proximo spectaculo apparuit, siquidem Atellanis notissimum canticum exorsis: *Venit Onesimus a villa* cuncti simul spectatores consentiente voce reliquam partem rettulerunt ac saepius versu repetito egerunt.

Farcical as the occasion was, this is a revealing moment for the history of homecoming. Homecoming and home-leaving and their complex cultural expressions are no doubt features of all societies. The historian needs to establish grounds for comparison, ways of reaching beyond the merely contingent features of culture, to expound a narrative of how the idea of home changes, and then to set about explaining why.[2] The joke in 68 CE was the juxtaposition of an occasion which was a very big deal in both the popular and the official Roman mind, nothing less than the *adventus* or formal first appearance in the Roman homeland, the city of Rome, of a new emperor (and of the first emperor not to be a Julius or a Claudius, so potentially a whole new kind of emperor) with what was apparently, a very trivial and commonplace matter, the routine journey from the territory and the life of the land, to the city and its urbane ways.[3] The austere patrician general becomes the slave who runs the estate. Two modes of absence, two ways of making a return, are blended: and the serious political point remains—what of us, who are what kind of denizens of what kind of home with which rights, privileges, and expectations in the heart of the far-flung territories run in our name? These are issues which the dramatic and often tragic events which followed at Rome over the next two years made very conspicuous.

This example offers the simple (but essential) lesson that ideas in the cluster hearth-home-city-homeland are naturally shaped and patterned by their semantically significant antonyms, antitypes, alternatives, such as absence, return, mobility, displacement, wandering, or rootlessness. *Nostos* functions in this way to articulate the idea of home. It should follow, conversely, that an investigation of the nature and nuances of some Greek and Roman ideas of 'home' has something to offer the project of this volume.[4]

It is scarcely necessary to insist that the home to which a *nostos* leads was (as the other papers in this collection amply attest) a

[2] An interesting attempt along these lines in Howe 2004. See also Mack and Nadell 1993. In her paper in that collection, Mary Douglas explores how theorizing 'home' constructs solidarity out of a shared value system, strongly contrasting the domestic with its mobile antitype, for her summed up in the hotel, a category—strikingly—largely absent from ancient thought (Douglas 1993 (orig. Douglas 1991)).

[3] The register is that of comedy: cf. Theophrastos *Char.* 4.15, behaviour of the rustic 'coming down into town'.

[4] For comparative material see Miller 2004.

complex, contested, and relatively unfamiliar category, anything but 'unmarked'. The great variety of meanings for *nostos,* its cognates and equivalents, is already sufficient proof of that.[5] Home is indeed *always* a complex construction, never free of ideology and associations with power and entitlement. The remarkably consistent and dominant positive models of home to which we are used ourselves, with their personal, affective colouring, can lead us to overlook certain negative aspects of the theories and ideologies of 'home', to some of which this paper briefly draws attention. It is also easy to give automatic logical priority to the idea of 'home'. Here my priority is rather to explore the alternative approach which makes mobility the norm, and home the back-formation from it—a denial of displaceability, a reaction against wandering. So it is in the social and cultural history of mobility that I seek the ingredients for a history of home in antiquity.

DIFFERENT MOBILITIES, CAUSED IN DIFFERENT WAYS, PRODUCE DIFFERENT IDEAS OF HOME

Displacement and mobility are very various, and all the different patterns, durations, intensities, and degrees of normality of their varieties are implicated in constructing ideas of home. In particular, since the ancient Mediterranean was characterized by a very high *degree* of mobility, it should follow that an important part of the articulation of home in antiquity derived precisely from the normality of rootlessness. But even when normal, rootlessness still exhibited a variety of patterns, from which the meaning of home derived a changing nuance.

The satirical tastes of the *populus Romanus* display one of these variables: the scale on which the distance between home and away is measured. That is one of the ways in which the language of moving homeward (or, equally, of its close relative, departure, heading away from home) is an important resource for conceiving, portraying, and discussing four further themes of this paper: levels of familiarity, conceptual distance, imagined space, and extrapolated scale.

[5] I return below to the larger semantic context in the specialized vocabulary of the thought-world of displacement in Greek and Latin.

Among the antithetical clusters which need to be invoked, then, return must be combined with its precursor, departure.[6] There is no *nostos* without a setting out, no *reditus* without a *profectio*. The *nostos*, equally, presupposes what lies between departure and return, the expedition. Every return implies, and draws implicit meaning from, some departure, and this symmetry is one which was very familiar in antiquity. We separate too readily the returns from Troy from the *stolos* itself—the Trojan expedition, the gathering of the heroes, the shared effort of will and organization, are inseparable from the fissiparated homecomings.[7] In these cases, it is important to recognize that displacement is a group activity. It is collective, and shapes the nature of the collectivity. Personal absence and return shapes the home of the individual, and, in an analogous manner, the community which wanders thereby refines and develops its notion of the homeland, clearly recalled, endlessly reconstructed, or completely invented, the place from which it is temporarily or permanently separated or excluded. Though related, the individual *nostos* and the collective one are different.

So the journey 'there and back again' is not the only kind of mobility. Another kind of movement is more circular, the endless winding wanderings of the *kukleuōn*. It is Empedokles who most poetically illustrates this other kind of circulatory movement, the one evoked by the misleading proem of the *Odyssey*, in which the journey goes on and on. Matthew Arnold's lines in my epigraph express it with a weary and knowing Victorian sensibility, which is not so apparent in the fragment of the *Katharmoi* in question, where the theme of the celebrity wise man's progress from town to town, the arrival, the eager questions, the veneration and interest, the hectic prosperity, the demographic felicity, of the age, is central: 'when I come to them, arriving at their flourishing cities, I am venerated by men and women.'[8] We note in passing that Empedokles' arrival is

[6] The word *nostos* can be used, somewhat unexpectedly, of leaving home rather than arriving at it: above, p. 6.

[7] Cf. Lowe, this volume p. 187, on *Iphigenia at Aulis*, as 'odd-play-out', in not dealing with *nostos* (for qualifications to this, see Biffis, also this volume, pp. 165, 168): but the journey out is an intrinsic part of the same system. Malkin, this volume p. 86, emphasizes the significance of Greeks *converging* in the Trojan expedition.

[8] τοῖσιν ἄμ' εὖτ'ἂν ἵκωμαι ἐς ἄστεα τηλεθάοντα, / ἀνδράσιν ἠδὲ γυναιξὶ σεβίζομαι: Empedokles DK 31, *Katharmoi* B 112. On the proem of the *Odyssey* see West, this volume, p. 69.

of consequence to men and women alike. And this species of mobility calls into existence its own idea of home, even one lost, hopelessly remote, never to be revisited, perhaps even forbidden or destroyed, but certainly only relevant in an intellectual or sentimental manner, either as the object of unfulfilled desire, or something which the self-consciously homeless wanderer has learned to pine for no longer. Mobility, then, had real and attributed *explanations*. The nature of the return was affected by the reasons for displacement. Why did the Greeks go to Troy? Why is Empedokles on his circuit? Why did Onesimus go to the farm? Why did Galba go to Spain? The explanations change the entitlement to different versions of Return. Home depended on the circumstances and the rights of the traveller, and how robust they proved, as they had with Odysseus. 'Home', the idea, expressed these claims and their efficacy in potent and expressive terms. That connection is my theme.

DISTINCTIVELY MEDITERRANEAN MOBILITIES SHOULD PRODUCE A DISTINCTIVE SET OF CULTURAL EVOCATIONS OF 'HOME'

Neo-Assyrian texts described 'Ionians', whoever they intended by the label, as 'like elusive animals of the waters'.[9] The Mediterranean, and above all its seaways, seemed to outsiders a space of intense mobility. It is possible to advance some systemic explanations of what it was that they saw, and why it had come to be thus. Alongside literary and theoretical explorations of mobility and its alternatives, the historian can also aspire to make sense of the real conditions of mobility which shaped attitudes to displacement and homecoming. To add a dimension of historical explanation to the apparently infinite possibilities of personal experience is a challenge, but it is one which can be met through searching for comparable structures which promoted departure from home and assisted eventual return. Prominent among these is the set of basic historical ecologies which make Mediterranean history distinctive and comparable across long intervals of time: intensely fragmented productive environments can only protect themselves

[9] Luraghi 2006: 32.

against the consequences of highly unpredictable seasonal conditions by interdependences which are themselves patterned by the distinctively complex topographies of land and sea.[10] If 'home' is a by-product, a side effect, a back-formation from displacement, how did ancient Greek and Roman attitudes to it reflect specifically Mediterranean mobilities?

We may begin with the unexpected but eloquent link of this volume's keyword *nostos* with production and productivity: as in Kallimachos' invocation to Demeter, *phere d'agrothi nostima panta,* 'bring everything homeward in from the land'.[11] What Odysseus comes back to is the diverse portfolio of productive resources which he revisits first when he meets and stays with Eumaios—the cereal-giving earth and the pastures of all the royal animals. The evocation of Odysseus' right on Ithaka culminates in the paradisal evocation of the ordered fruit trees of the amazing royal *temenos* and the indisputable heirship of the returning hero.[12] Such essential concerns for prosperity and its maintenance from year to year, and the accumulation of resources from generation to generation, inflect the powerful psychology of place which is discussed elsewhere in this volume (ch. 8).

Home, in other words, was where the store was.[13] This means the safe physical place to keep the accumulations which defend against risk, but also the hub around which all the complex relations of social storage revolve—reciprocity, clientage, community-sharing, contributions to institutions of cult or order. The gathering in of the season's yield, or *annona*, involves at least local movement out from this base and a high-profile return towards it. Purposive movement into the field, and the home-defining return, are as conspicuous in Hebrew as in Greek texts: 'He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him' (*Psalm* 126: 6).

That image of displacement and its emotions is also, of course, a metaphor in miniature for the return to Zion of the scattered Jewish people. The rather distinctive *nostos* to the storehouse, from the pastures, fields, and gardens which fill it, is microcosm and heart of

[10] Thus Horden and Purcell 2000.

[11] *Nostoi* and yield in primary production: above, Introduction, p. 7; Theophrastos *CP* 4.13.2; Kall. *Hymn* 6 *To Demeter*, 135.

[12] *Od.* 24.330–46.

[13] On storage and its prehistory see now the remarks of Christakis 2008.

a wider sphere of reference for human mobility, a larger world across which longer-distance movements promote the recognition and taking of opportunities.[14] If Hesiod has no mythic *nostoi* in *Works and Days*, but rootlessness, departure, and return are by no means absent. This other kind of displacement is well exemplified by the journey attributed to the poet's father, sailing and sailing in his boat in the summer in the pursuit of exchange for what he had garnered through his other efforts, 'needing a goodly livelihood', like so many later labourers, traders, *dēmiourgoi*, or mercenaries.[15] All such endeavours could be seen through the lens of primary production on the land, as we see in the boast of Hybrias the Kretan mercenary, that his military prowess answers to the agrarian toil of lesser men.[16] In the Mediterranean world, insisting on being immobile is as dangerous as pursuing autarky. Movement is a survival strategy. Nor should Hesiodic good order distract us from recognizing that raiding was as common as trading in that world. Odysseus' unprovoked and disastrous attack on the Kikones was part of his homeward journey, a return that was always planned to add to the store of the Ithakans and their rulers.[17] The epic conflict of the *Iliad* was itself the paroxysm of rival appetitions which, on the smaller or the largest scale, could represent the predatory gain that saved a community or disastrous ruin. This economic intuition was shared by many ancient readers of the Homeric poems. Strabo saw the mass impoverishment of both sides by the Trojan War as systemic cause of expansion of settlements across the *oikoumene*.[18]

Mobility was thus an opportunistic strategy which was, in principle, available to—and often necessary for—all. The edge could be brought close by bad weather, disease, and all the various kinds of human disaster. Some locations were naturally marginal, and mobility could draw its character from the ways in which the general

[14] Horden and Purcell 2000: 77–80, for microregions and their larger contexts.

[15] *Op*. 630–40, with Horden and Purcell 2000: 365. For Kalchas, however, see p. 248.

[16] Ath. 15.695a–696a, *PMG* 909.

[17] *Od*. 9.39–61.

[18] 1.3.2 (a passage where Strabo engages with Eratosthenes, though this idea appears not to be the latter's). Fowler (in this volume) distinguishes a mythological domain characterized by the literature of *nostos*, involving the Trojan War and its aftermath from a relatively *nostos*-free zone which he associates with ethnogenesis and the formation of a self-consciously different mythology, to which the Trojan War was external. This tense dichotomy might equally well be intrinsic to a single view of the world. See also Hartmann 2014.

ecological character of each region could be classified. Thus, mountain people and islanders, for instance, left home for somewhat different reasons, and according to different patterns, and they and their homes were perceived in different ways. The forms and varieties of the ecologically displaced depended also on the length of the absence and the distance of the displacement. They included the seafarer, in all varieties; the mercenary, offering military service across sometimes very large physical and cultural distances; and the long-distance mobile labourer, better attested in later periods.[19] All these types of the mobile created different manifestations of 'home' by their respective mobilities and possibilites of return, morphologies of real or imagined *nostos*: so that places, localities, came to be perceived as the characteristic homeland of the seasonal labourer, or the hired soldier, or—in a case to which I shall return—the slave.[20]

The idea of 'home' was therefore complicated by the plurality of places which the mobile inhabited sequentially, or cyclically, or intermittently.[21] The multiple narratives of serial relocation contributed to a rich vocabulary of resettlement, *apodēmia*, *apoikia*, *epimixia*; *patria*, *origo*, *domicilium*. The consequence was inevitably to destabilize the notion of home. It is worth noting that in these cases the ambiguity between the fortunes of the individual and those of the group is once again very pronounced. But as a kind or as an individual, the stranger was a formative and constant presence in ancient Mediterranean societies, shaping ideas of belonging by being excluded from them.[22]

Among the antonyms of mobility which I propose as closely, even logically, paired, and interdependent with the universe of the *nostos*, the first and most important is—perversely enough—one which does not even have a common English name. It is a sort of stability or resistance to dislocation, which I have elsewhere called 'fixity', and it remains somewhat neglected.[23] Displacement and stability were, however, mutually implicated, as I have said. Theorizing *nostos*

[19] Grey 2004 and—a *tour de force*, with wide implications for the whole of antiquity—Shaw 2013.

[20] This manner of classifying types of homeland is a staple of the ancient geographical tradition. For a striking late medieval parallel see Gourdin 1984. On the case of mountain origins see Purcell 2017.

[21] Malkin 2016 and this volume for the 'double home' of the *apoikia* and the Right of Return.

[22] Migeotte 2004; Constable 2003 for the sequel.

[23] For fixity as a foil to mobility, some preliminary thoughts in Purcell 2004.

entails thinking about its absence. Mobility is counterpointed by a rich thought-world of stability, continuity, immobility, and the two ideas resonate with each other, as seen so frequently through the huge richness and fluidity of the language of *nostos*. *Nostoi* do not have to return you to your starting point; indeed, they cannot do so, as Herakleitos saw, because you are not the same and the origin is not the same (DK 22 B 49a). Nonetheless, unstable though the experience of home is, it is movement to and from it which give it that and all other aspects of its character.

Displacement, understood in this way, involves the representation of time. Time becomes in turn a vital ingredient in constructing 'home', whether the rhythm of seasonal departures and returns, marking the annual cycle; the rôle of the longer absence, and its eventual cancellation by a homecoming, in punctuating the life cycle; or the turning point of the irrevocable abandonment of home in the voluntary or involuntary relocation of whole communities, marking a historical differentiation. The influence worked both ways. Displacement and homecoming lent themselves to the expression of periodicity. *Nostos* helped to imagine and picture time, with home lying between past and future. Hence, on a larger scale, the idea of the classic *nostoi* of myth as a collective representation of an age of disaster.

The formation of different senses of home involves the taking of positions on a number of different possible evocations of personal and community history. One notable absence in ancient literature is much sense of sentiment for the landscape of childhood. Instead, emphasis is placed on the abode of old age. In a famous passage, Seneca reflects on how he and the villa of his youth have aged together (*Ep. Mor.* 12). Where you end up is more important than where you start. Home, indeed, changes according to the life cycle. Stability over one lifetime is different from that which endures from generation to generation. Displacement may be remedied by return which takes place only for the (sometimes distant, or even fictive) descendants of those who departed.[24] The multigenerational perspective has important ramifications in ancient thought, covering social promotion as well as relocation in space. The last home is the only truly enduring one—the tomb, though even the tombs of predecessors and ancestors,

[24] 'Kinship diplomacy' was likewise structurally tied to displacement and return: Jones 1999; Battistoni 2010.

pledge of continuity and authentic tradition like no other, were as much symbol as evidence of real continuity, and might also be vulnerable to historical disaster.[25]

Still more efficacious is the claim to permanence made by divine residency. It is significant that both Greeks and Romans 'homed' their Gods, and reflected on where even such potentially transcendent entities truly belonged. They had their own unassailable place, living in their Olympian dwellings, *Olumpia dōmat 'echontes*, but they could be construed as fellow citizens, delighting in residence in their houses in the cities of people, the most powerfully entitled inhabitants, guaranteed their *nostos* (though this, too, could be assailed through the ritual removal of the cult or the image, and the destruction of the cult place). Religion was therefore a powerfully expressive medium for tracing or claiming lost or distant homelands, and homeland-thinking contributed significantly to the character of community religion.

Empedokles observed that the people of his own actual homeland, Akragas, lived in *truphē*, that is, conspicuous and refined consumption of abundant resources, as if they would die tomorrow: but they built houses as if they would live forever.[26] The first observation depended on the role of production, consumption, and storage in the calibration of time and the imagination of the future and its destinations. In the second, we meet the theme of the House, with which the idea of home was entangled in both Greek and Roman societies. Tomb, temple, and dwelling house were all part of the willed antidote to the precariousnesses of a home which was imagined through mobility, a built environment which made a bid for permanence, and for resisting the inevitable historical flux—always in vain, as Empedokles so clearly saw.

ENTITLEMENT AND HOMECOMING

House and hearth, imagined as home, generated a cluster of ideas which was important in turn to the sense of the city as homeland. Microcosm and macrocosm, both *oikos* and *polis* centred on a hearth,

[25] Humphreys 1980.
[26] Diog. Laert. 8.63, probably from Timaios (cf. F26c): DK 31 A 1 at p. 279.

emphasizing which was a deliberate exercise in social and political ideology.[27] The preoccupation with home in Archaic Greece is easily enough linked with the paroxysms of displacement in that age, in which Greeks moved to demote or expel, and were themselves the subjects of subjection or ousting, from one end of the Mediterranean to another.[28] Central aspects of the *polis* itself, as it formed shared patterns of institutions and ideology, were moulded by this everyday, annual, centuries-long experience.

Louis Gernet long ago showed how that central expression of the city as homeland, the community hearth, was constructed and malleable, rather than a spontaneous by-product of sociable domesticity.[29] The *oikos* as a physical structure likewise developed as part of this theoretical system. The house as home was one of the signs of the entitlement of the citizen in the community. Its construction, sometimes metonymically expressed with reference to the roof tiles themselves, summed up its place in the built environment that was the city, an assemblage which was order and beauty as far as citizens were concerned, and a source of marvel and astonishment for the dazzled outsider whose home this was not.[30] At the same time, as an assigned city plot, or *oikopedon*, such a regulated Home also answered the allotted countryside of the *gēpedon*. The ordered landscape of urban dwellings remained conceptually linked to the productive territory around the *polis*, destination of the bringing in of the harvest *agrothi,* 'from the land'.

The community within which the radial mobilities of city and territory expressed the sense of home, by means of departure and return, was, of course, a low tier in a hierarchy with larger regional members. Further up the scale, by analogy with these smaller-scale behaviours, the homeland or home region took its place in wider continua. So, for instance, the development during the sixth century

[27] Cicero (*Off.* 1.54) outlines a historical theory of this kind, by which the family household is *principium urbis et quasi seminarium rei publicae*, sending out offshoot households *tamquam in colonias*; the separate households form a city, and the city in turn sends out real offshoot settlements.

[28] On Greek mobility see Purcell 1990: 54–8; Garland 2014.

[29] Gernet 1952.

[30] The recently published Kaulonia tablet describes a newly-dedicated temple as a 'wonder to strangers, an adornment to citizens', *θαῦμα ξένοις, κόσμος πολίταις*: Ampolo 2014. Contrast also the world of the intrinsically homeless nomad, with Shaw 1982–3. Isaiah 38: 12, 'Mine age is departed, and is removed from me as a shepherd's tent.'

of the general Hellenic festival circuit made possible a highly stylized form of departure to a shared but peaceful competition. The return home, with all the glory and ceremony of Olympic victory, marked out, yet again, through the particular nature of the displacement, the special character of the community which the competitors re-entered.[31] More generally, the practices of religious mobility and the rise of the non-poliadic destination sanctuary in the seventh and sixth centuries BCE, contributed to a process of triangulation between new forms of community consciousness which shaped ancient notions of the home. This was also the milieu within which the *mūthoi* of *nostos* developed their literary shape. The formation of an intellectual and literary continuum within and between increasingly clearly defined city communities made it possible and desirable to attribute precise homelands to prominent individuals, attributing homelands to the canonical great. As a sense of distinctive citizenship accrued, established traditions of departure and *nostos* were adapted to practices of exclusion and exile, in ways which further articulated the institutional identification of the *polis* as Home.[32]

There are two important consequences of this process, individual and general. The criss-crossing, mutual observations and perceptions of numerous comparable *poleis* made it possible for individual communities to adapt their character to larger collectives.[33] The *polis* sense of home and homeland was one of the many aspects of *polis* consciousness derived from this multiplicity. The homeland that was the Greek city made sense only as a parallel, as a comparandum, for the thousand homes of other people. *Nostoi*, likewise, were always to be compared with each other, and it remained an essential part of the idea that they might be precarious, imperfect, or unattainable. The large collective of Greek homelands was therefore coloured by the triage of perceived multiple homemakings and home-losings. Larger group allegiance, and Greekness itself, were patterned by the normality of displacement: for Herodotus, famously, the Dorian

[31] Diod. 13.82.7, 'triumph' of the victor Exainetos, relative of Empedokles, returning to Akragas: Hornblower 2004a: 200–1, drawing the parallel between the philosopher and the Olympic victor.

[32] For exile and exile consolation and their literature see Gray 2015. See also above, Introduction, p. 40.

[33] On *oikoumenē* as home, reflecting the collectivity of *poleis*, see Purcell 1990: 35–6.

ethnos was 'extremely subject to wandering'.[34] That is not only descriptive—Greekness derived from the perception of displaceability. But that took time and had phases. The Greek realities were very different from one generation to another in this respect.

The departure for war or opportunistic journeying is clearly the background for such patterns of behaviour, including the returns from the more distant destination which include the classic *nostos*. Systematizing departure and return became an Italic and Roman speciality, and, by the logic described above, this shaped a particular body of theories of home.

That is true of the *ver sacrum*, for instance, the ritual expulsion of an age class to fend for itself and establish a new place to be, which expresses powerfully the continuing existence of the community of origin and the good fortune of those who are not expelled (for the *ver sacrum* see Introduction to this volume, p. 41). Home is powerfully imagined through this practice as the place to which these people will never return. Here is a rite which draws its strength from the denial of the possibility of *nostos*. In this case, the logic of Mediterranean survival is visible once again, combined with a sense of the precarious availability of other locations for settled community existence, locations which are not certainly hard to find—this is a behaviour of a somewhat underpopulated world, where demographic pressure is local and occasional, and where there are still underexploited environments—but for which other groups will also be looking.[35]

Nostos-thinking is still more conspicuous in the case of the system of practices which the Romans associated with *profectio* and *reditus*, and which classified the world into the large categories of civilian life and warfare, *domi* and *militiae*. In this conceptual system, the idea of home is explicitly counterpointed by the aggressive, appetitive, violent exterior where survival was at stake, and the message was underlined by the formality with which both the departure and the return were performed. The rites need no rehearsing—the levy, the arming, the ceremonies on the Capitol, and the correct forms of leaving the city for war; and still less the return in triumph, the entry

[34] Hdt. 1.56, *πολυπλάνητον κάρτα*. Cf. Th. 1.2.3–6, explaining mobility.

[35] Cf. Malkin, this volume p. 88, on *stenochōria*. For the *ver sacrum* see Scheid 1999 with earlier bibliography; cf. also Tagliamonte 1994 for the Italian mercenary tradition. Add now Isayev 2016.

into the city, the disarming and purification, the dedication of the spoils, the resumption of the *toga*, and peacetime existence.

In Roman thought, the *domus* was a centre for the political identity of the citizen *paterfamilias* and, short as it was, the journey from it to the stages of public activity, the Forum or the Campus, was a *profectio*, articulated through saying farewell to the family at the door, and through the friends or clients who accompanied the departing householder. The return home worked in a similar way. In the overheated atmosphere of the end of the Republic, with its languages of inflated honour, a minor triumphator could even be given the right to make his return from *convivia* on elephantback.[36] The gesture reflected, once more, the analogy between the triumphal *reditus* itself and the more miniature *nostos* of the homeward-bound dinner guest. The comparison strikes us as absurd, but its staginess is not in doubt: and there are plenty of parallels for concern about the scale of honour reflected in the paraphernalia and technology of movement around the city from one conspicuous destination or starting point to another. Conspicuous movement also played a part in the interesting development in late Republican Rome of a different kind of double home, as a result of the behaviour known to Romans as *secessus*, *secedere*, and to scholarship as *villeggiatura*. Here is a very distinctive outgrowth of ancient home theory. In a sense, and in origin (or at least in aetiology), it is an elaboration of the schema of the town house and the lot in the country, with the seasonal displacements of the Hesiodic agrarian year. The *villa* of the Roman comic tradition to which the theatre were alluding in 68 CE was part of the background. But favourite Roman retreats—such as those of Campania, 120 miles or more from Rome—were often far further away than would be normal in even a larger city *chora*. Such large displacements mirrored the expansion of Roman portfolios of productive property across the Italian peninsula and into the provinces.

It became a question how far any such properties could or should be regarded as home. The agronomist Columella quotes the opening words of the treatise of the Carthaginian Mago, which expressed itself precisely in the language of home being where the heart is: 'the person who has bought an estate should sell their town house, so that they don't devote themselves more to the gods of the city abode than those

[36] L. Cornificius, Cassius Dio 49.7.6.

of the country property. The person to whose heart a city home is dearer will have no need of a country estate.' The elder Pliny thought this insistence on *adsiduitas* ('consistent occupancy') harsh and detrimental to the *res publica*.[37] It is a pity that we know essentially nothing about the social contexts of Mago's prescription in the Carthaginian sphere: but it is notable both that home is perceived as a strongly affective matter, and that Mago's two Roman readers found *adsiduitas* unattainable, essential though the proprietor's visits were for the life of the estate. Romans indeed, famously, developed a taste for multiplying the domestic, making themselves at home in city or suburb, in the wilderness for hunting, on the seashore for winter amenity.[38] Any of these *secessus* could fulfil the function of home: the citizen's primary attachment to the ancestral urban property, which had been normal in the Republic, and which can so surprise the observer who is used to post-Roman aristocracies tied to rural power bases, appears to have steadily diminished—just as Pliny predicted.

The Capitoline temple and its cult played a special role in Roman narratives of domesticity. It was, like the temples of principal deities in Greek *poleis*, the special, preferred, and chosen home of the gods, and above all of Jupiter himself, and the management of the Capitolium throughout its millennial history reflected its being the abode of the highest divinity. The gods hosted in their house the *populus Romanus* and its leaders, for whom the temple also acted as a kind of public home, in a manner analogous to (but more readily accessible than) the hearth of the temple of Vesta. After the return home from war, to give only one example, the porch of the Capitoline temple was the location for the banquet which marked the victory. The narrative of the foundation of the temple located in mythical history a singular sacred and immovable vocation for Rome, which played a crucial part in the performance of home (and its military antitype) throughout Roman history, and in the claim of Romans to have a

[37] Columella 1.1.18–19 *Poenum Magonem suorum scriptorum primordium talibus auspicatum sententiis: Qui agrum paravit domum vendat, ne malit urbanum quam rusticum larem colere; cui magis cordi fuerit urbanum domicilium, rustico praedio non erit opus*; Pliny, *HN* 18.35: *agro empto domum vendendam inclementer atque non ex utilitate publici status Mago censuit, hoc exordio praecepta pandere ingressus, ut tamen appareat adsiduitatem desideratam ab eo.*

[38] A scholarly overview of this subject is still needed: for a preliminary study see Mayer 2005.

unique reference point in this particular place.[39] Romans claimed no autochthony: they were an accidental gathering of the rootless. But Jupiter truly belonged on the southern summit of the Capitoline hill, and furnished his home-city with a unique destiny.

As Roman intellectual and imperial claims became more ambitious and more grandiose, the Capitol as the home of Jupiter took on a cosmic centrality as the focal point of the whole Roman hegemony, coextensive with the *oikoumenē*. The 'triangulation' of senses of belonging among Greek cities had eventually helped to forge another, even larger sense of 'home'—that of a Mediterranean world in which the Hellenic somehow belonged, by contrast with various alternatives, but especially with that west Asian continuum on which he worked so productively. That it was indeed a Mediterranean world which was central to this larger, environmental, geographical sense of home is a further reflection of the tight connections between Mediterranean ecology and the normality of displacement and resettlement. The idea, present in the early poetry of the mercenary and trader who venture out of the familiar world, survived to shape a different literature of the usually lamentable fortunes of those displaced by the long hostilities between Greek and Persian. In the Roman period, that larger sense of homeland is visible in the 'most alien configuration of earth and sky' which Cassius Dio was to predicate of the Parthian domain a millennium later.[40]

From the Roman Imperial period, too, comes a sad reflection on a rather different process of relocation. It combines the sense of the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean as a homeland with the essentializing description of environments of origin which we have already encountered. A declamation evoked the poverty and exposure to raids of islanders, and concerned the unfortunate families who sell their children in order to pay their taxes. It included a letter from a Greek boy in Babylon to his father in Greece, with rueful topoi of the Hellenic world remembered from afar, including, precisely, the Greek sea, the *Hellēnikē thalatta*: a lost home never to be regained.[41]

[39] On *adventus* see Michaud-Fréjaville et al. 2006; Bérenger and Perrin-Saminadayar 2009.

[40] Cassius Dio 40.15.6, *ἐς ἀλλοτριωτάτην σφισι καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατάστασιν ἀπαρτῶντες*. Cf. Josephus' claim (*BJ* 7.242) that the rulers of Commagene, in exile in Parthia, 'could not remain outside the hegemony of the Romans and be happy (*εὐδαιμονοῦντες*)'.

[41] Missing the 'Greek sea': Philostratos, *VS* 2.12 (593), from a declamation of Pollux.

Did slaves—like these former islanders—really have homes? No doubt they recalled, and even celebrated what they recalled of, what they had lost: but there is no doubt that slaves' origin was deliberately effaced.[42]

The plurality and multiplicity of homes of different kinds, which derived from the variety of the movements which led to and from them, formed a system in which each part changed the whole. Alongside those whose return from war or raiding or commerce was delayed, or those who have departed voluntarily to seize a new homeland elsewhere, then, it is essential to set the structurally or permanently homeless. Those to whom the notion of 'home' could not apply, by their alienness from the concept itself, played a fundamental role in defining the homes of those who belonged, by a different right, in a world of homes.

Movement shaped notions of home. The movement, however, was not only that of the entitled Greek or Roman man. The captive bride, the deracinated slave, the prisoner of war, the forcibly resettled Paionian or Aiginetan or Messenian or Epirote or Dacian—their mobilities and their character did as much as any more formal movements, to and from *apoikia* or *emporion* or *colonia*, to construct what home means in that culture, in the same way as—whether we like it or not—Idomeni, Calais, and Yarl's Wood have taken their place alongside all the other ways in which the mobilities and displacements of our time shape our own construction of homeland and home.

We are apt, for all that, to discuss the literature and history of displacement and conceptual belonging as if all those of whom we might predicate these ideas or behaviours in a community were essentially interchangeable. The legally unfree are not the only subdivision of the population whose entitlement to home was very different from that of the visible male citizen. Home, we must accept, is in antiquity primarily the right of the male citizen, the person who is expected to fight, and (if necessary) die, for it: as is clear already from Tyrtaios' terrible curse on the man who doesn't fight bravely, and his whole family—expelled from home, wandering 'from city and rich fields', in poverty and shame.[43] The wife and children of the

[42] See, recently, Hunt 2015.

[43] *Elegies*, fr. 10 West lines 3–4.

Spartan coward need consideration, too. Home worked differently for women and for children. There were losers as well as winners in the promulgation of theories of home and fixity. The normal ancient practice of formalizing departure for a bride from her father's house to that of the husband established a deracination at the heart of every ancient construction of a familial home.[44]

In the *nostoi* of myth, as in the institutional frame of Greek overseas settlement, the calibration of entitlement to return—alongside a large range of other rights in relation to the point of origin, the first home—is conspicuous. By what right can you expect to return? How long does your right endure? The point is central to the Jewish diasporic milieu, where religion, history, and community combined to express a right and a duty characterized by how hard they are to realize.[45] Home was precarious. Denied to the chattel slave; abrogated by marriage; lost by the imperfect warrior; it was not in the least automatic, an axiomatic aspect of intuited community. From these cases, moreover, developed institutions of imperfect or incomplete entitlement. Prominent among the homelessnesses which shape 'home' is exile, in all its carefully graded forms.[46] The right to return of those captured or abducted in war was likewise a far more problematic matter than it usually seems to those used to modern citizenship. The Roman law of *postliminium* expresses their inferior right eloquently and, in doing so, does much to articulate, through its reluctance to readmit, the exclusive and precious sense of the home which was so carefully denied to the captive.[47]

At the heart of such discriminations, visible in the right of the citizen in the productive landscape, in the title to the urban abode, in the dispossession of the bride and the penalties of the exile, lay property, in the broad sense, which is in turn inseparable from the calculus of the many possible ways in which people exploit, manipulate, and intervene in their environment to win and preserve the means of survival.[48] The relationship of the individual, then, to

[44] Scheer, this volume, on the one-way journey of women's life stories. Cf. Miller 2004: 125–42 at 140 on the insecure domestic entitlements of the infant.

[45] Shannon 2015: 92–3 on Moroccans who claim to keep the keys of their ancestors' houses in Granada. For this striking case of expressing belonging and loss through the domestic medium see also Perry 2004.

[46] Note Coşkun and Lutz 2014.

[47] For *postliminium* see Cursi 1996.

[48] Thus Horden and Purcell 2000: 274–5. Purcell 2004: 77–78 on the Mediterranean agrosystem and its relationship to property. Centrality of the history of property: Congost 2003.

'their' home always needs scrutiny. Who really owns it, and how, and precisely in what sense it is theirs, matters more than being born in a place or having forebears from there. The right of a citizen, the right of a ruler, and above all the right of ownership, are preferable if home is to have a strong sense. Herodotus's strong interest in home and leaving it certainly included this aspect. The Kimmerian demos spurns the land as not worth fighting for; the nobility die rather than lose it.[49]

The future lay with the ordinary Kimmerians, and not their elite. Home became a more precarious idea in the Roman Empire. This was the world in which Seneca could claim that all cities, however ill-favoured and remote, had populations largely derived from elsewhere.[50] It was in this milieu that Juvenal could suggest that most inhabitants of large cities had no idea of the *patria* of their parents.[51] Building on the deracination of diaspora Jewish communities, Christians could make their essential homelessness, alongside the absence of ethnicity, wherever they found themselves in the world, a surprising and perverse source of pride.[52] At the same time, the theory of entitlement to a homeland developed into something harder-edged. The Greek for Romanization, at least for Strabo, was 'domestication'. Conquered and subdued peoples and regions started off not being *oikeios*, but subsequently became accommodated to the Romans and their hegemony, in Italy and elsewhere, part of a Roman imperial homeland, whether they liked it or not.[53]

Oikeiōsis thus leads us back to the category of the involuntarily homeless, in its most aggressive aspect—de-homing others. The play of home articulation includes, as an important element, the threat of losing your home, the possibility of depriving others of their original home, or of any right to home at all, and the realities of all those of whom you know who have lost that right. The comic rustic to whom

[49] Hdt. 4.11. [50] Sen. *Helv.* 6.2–5; Marco Simón et al. 2004.

[51] Juv. 8.44–5: *uolgi pars ultima nostri / quorum nemo queat patriam monstrare parentis*. Moatti 2010 on cosmopolitization.

[52] *Letter to Diognetos* 5. Cf. also Hebrews 11: 8–10, 'By faith Abraham obeyed when he was called to go out to a place he would later receive as an inheritance, and he went out without understanding where he was going. By faith he lived as a foreigner in the promised land as though it were a foreign country, living in tents with Isaac and Jacob, who were fellow heirs of the same promise. For he was looking forward to the city with firm foundations, whose architect and builder is God.'

[53] Threatening meanings of *oikeios*: Strabo 5.3.7, cf. e.g. 4.5.3.

the Roman people compared Galba was Onesimus, the Bought Man. The *Odyssey* likewise is about Eumaios as well as Odysseus: and Eumaios had no *nostos*.[54]

[54] Eumaios' story: *Od.* 15.400–84.

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